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CONTINUING

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Vol. XXV	September, 1944	No. 3
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Cartier's First Voyage to Canada in 1524 GUSTAVE LANCTOT	233
France and the Beginnings of New France E. R. ADAIR.....	246
Direct Legislation and the Origins of the Progressive Movement W. L. MORTON	279
Graduate Theses in Canadian History and Related Subjects	289
Canada and Commonwealth Affairs: A Review of the Recent Literature R. G. TROTTER	294
Recent Books on the United States D. C. MASTERS	311
Recent Views on History R. FLENLEY	316

Reviews of Books Notes and Comments
List of Recent Publications Relating to Canada
(See inside cover)

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CONTENTS (cont'd)

Reviews of Books	316
Recent Publications Relating to Canada	331
Notes and Comments	349

The preservation of historical materials in Canada; History and historical records in the State of New York by A. B. Corey; The John W. Daboe Memorial Foundation; The Cornell University Collection of Regional History; The Tyrrell Medal; The Klieforth Canadian-American History Prize; Canadian Social Science Research Council Book Bursaries; The Royal Historical Society; Rutgers University Research Council; Establishment of the Great Lakes Historical Society; Canadian historical societies.

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

CASE, <i>The Christian philosophy of history</i> ; HULME, <i>History and its neighbours</i> ; COULTON, <i>Fourscore years</i> : by R. Flenley.....	316
SANDERSON (ed.), <i>The Arthur Papers</i> . Part I: by Fred Landon.....	321
McELROY and RIGGS (eds.), <i>The unfortified boundary</i> : by Edgar McInnis.....	323
CARTER (ed.), <i>The territorial papers of the United States</i> . XI: by Norman Macdonald	324
COLGATE, <i>Canadian art</i> : by John Alford.....	325
LORAM and McILWRAITH (eds.), <i>The North American Indian today</i> : by D. Jenness	327
CZUMER, <i>Spomini pro perezhiwannya pershik ukrayinskikh perecelentsiv v Kanadi, 1892-1942</i> : by George W. Simpson.....	329
DOBBIN, <i>Our old home town</i> : by J. J. Talman.....	329
HEENEY (ed.), <i>Leaders of the Canadian Church</i> . III: by W. Lyndon Smith.....	330

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The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XXV

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CARTIER'S FIRST VOYAGE TO CANADA IN 1524

HISTORY, which in spite of its methodological process is not so much a technical science, as a documentary and psychological interpretation of the past, very rarely reaches definite conclusions. It is nearly always at the mercy of unpublished documents, more complete information, or a deeper study of the subject. Also, it is not surprising that where the subject matter is of stunted or scanty documentation, a single new piece of evidence is sometimes enough to destroy a historical idea which has been generally accepted for years or even centuries. Moreover, in history, as in philosophy and psychology, no spontaneous fact exists. Events are brought about by an endless chain of cause and effect. Therefore, surpassing a mere recital of the past, the historian's task is to try to bind the events documentarily to their essential cause. Failure to discover this documentary liaison leaves the matter purely hypothetical until the final solution of the problem.

These assertions of more or less evident principles seem a necessary preamble to an article which attempts to show and prove that Jacques Cartier's first voyage to the Canadian coast, took place, not in 1534, but in 1524, ten years before his exploration of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

At the same time, it should also be remembered that with regard to the St. Malo captain, the first great figure in Canada's past, history tells us very little about the man and his career. Except in some official documents—commissions, ordinances, and accounts rendered—nothing is to be found in the administration files, or in the correspondence of the period, or in the contemporary authors concerning the repercussion and interest produced by the remarkable expeditions of Cartier. In spite of the fact that this gold rush ought to have stirred the hearts of Frenchmen of the court, of navigation, and of commerce, there is an almost total and absolute silence.

This inexplicable and regrettable absence of documentation explains the partial obscurity into which has been relegated the person of the great navigator, as also those of other mariners of the period, such as Cabot, Corte-Réal and Verrazzano. On the other hand this documentary poverty has unfortunately given rise to a certain number of errors, the principal ones of which should be mentioned. It is notoriously incorrect to state that Francis I sent the Cartier expeditions with the object of evangelizing the Indians. Besides, it must be admitted that the St. Malo explorer never brought any priests with him on his voyages. Next we must not fail to recognize that Cartier was not the first discoverer of Canada, but rather the great explorer of the Laurentian Valley. It should be mentioned, too, that it was not at Gaspé but at St. Servan (Lobster Bay) in Labrador that Cartier erected the first cross in the name of the King of France. Today it is conclusive that the navigator did not undertake a fourth voyage to Canada. Finally, it is established that Cartier received no title of nobility and that no authentic portrait of him exists.

However, coming to the crux of the subject, what is surprising when the voyages of Cartier are studied—voyages which reveal a skilled navigator, a remarkable pilot, and an excellent cartographer—is that nothing is known of this mariner before 1534. Then suddenly, by order of Francis I, he is given command of a royal expedition comprising two ships “to make a voyage from this kingdom to New Lands to discover certain isles and countries where it is said must be found a great quantity of gold and other riches.”¹

Immediately a first question comes up: where did he come from, this “Master Jacques Cartier, captain and pilot to the King,” according to the terms of a St. Malo court decree? To be put at the head of a maritime exploration, it was not enough, as in the case of a military expedition, to belong to the nobility or to be a favourite of the King. Besides, Cartier possessed neither of these qualifications. The chief of an overseas enterprise of discovery had to have a combination of indispensable qualifications: to be skilled in the difficult science of navigation on the high seas; to be able to draw a chart and establish the latitudes of the countries visited; and finally, to be familiar with the routes and contemporary discoveries, as well as the cosmography of the moment.

¹H. P. Biggar, *A Collection of Documents Relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval* (Ottawa, 1930), Grant of Money to Cartier for his First Voyage, 18 March 1533/4, p. 42.

Now no one achieves such competency without long sea experience, a training in navigation, and a knowledge of cosmographic science. Is it not then evident that before his Canadian expedition, Cartier must have sailed the high seas in order to acquire the experience and the nautical science which made Francis I choose him to lead the first trans-oceanic expedition financed by the royal treasury? That is the first question which arises regarding Cartier—and it remains yet unanswered.

But a second question inevitably floods the mind when one studies, map in hand, the itinerary adopted by the St. Malo captain on his voyage of 1534 to the "new lands." Embarking at St. Malo on April 20, he sailed such a straight course to Newfoundland that he managed to reach land at Cape Bonavista, 48° 5' latitude, in the record time of twenty days. From there he struck north and entering Chateau Bay, Strait of Belle Isle, he began, beyond the port of Brest, the exploration of a coast hitherto unknown. This is where the second question comes up. Why did Cartier commence his exploration beyond the 50th degree? Is there not from this fact a presumption, not to say a convincing proof, that Cartier knew very well that it was useless to search the sea coast below this degree of latitude? And if he possessed this knowledge, was it not because he had already visited the region as high as this latitude? If this hypothesis is supported by a documentary item or by a contemporary affirmation, is it not right to conclude that here lies the natural explanation of the route followed by the navigator, aimed at discovering a strait and inspired by the hope that it would "find passage into the South Sea," and lead to the reputed treasure islands?

Finally, on the subject of Cartier's career, the student is faced with a third question: how to explain his absence from St. Malo in 1523 and 1524. Curiously enough, his presence there can be traced from year to year through the registers of vital statistics and those of the Court of Justice, for the famous captain attended many baptisms in the capacity of godfather and appeared as a witness in a number of court cases.² Thanks to this information, unfortunately very brief in these registers, it is possible at least to establish the presence of the navigator in St. Malo on a great number of dates. But he apparently disappears from his district in 1523 and 1524. The natural conclusion in the case of a sailor, would seem to be that he was at sea on an expedition of war, of exploration, or of commerce. If these absences coincide with the

²*Ibid.*, *passim*.

dates of certain voyages of discovery, does it not seem that there is a logical relationship between these facts which can become quite convincing if it receives corroboration from other sources?

It is precisely the combination of these three enigmas in Cartier's life—the origin of his skill, his choice of itinerary and the explanation of certain absences—which prompted the writer for some years to seek as exact an answer as possible to them. As early as 1934, in the course of a study on Cartier on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of Canada, an examination of the places, events, and dates led him to formulate a hypothesis which, thanks to certain documentary information, seemed to present a conclusion satisfactory to the principle of circumstantial evidence, and gave an answer to the three questions already set forth. This theory, based on a comparison of documentary items, consisted simply in surmising that Jacques Cartier must have taken part in the exploration voyages of Giovanni Verrazzano in 1523 and 1524. Here is an extract of the article published in the *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* in 1935:³

During the two years following his marriage—1521 and 1522—Cartier stayed in his native town with his young wife looking after business affairs. Suddenly his name ceased to figure in public documents; to be precise, from January, 1523 to August, 1524. The natural conclusion is that he was at sea. Is it not possible therefore that he was with Verrazzano's expedition, which took place exactly between those dates? Actually, bearing the commission of Francis I, the Florentine navigator tried, in 1523, to find a passage to China by the northern route, but the ice-fields blocked his ships. Forced to return to Europe, he sailed again in January, 1524, exploring the American coast from Florida to Newfoundland. He returned to Dieppe in the month of July, which return coincides with the re-appearance of Cartier at a baptism on the 27th of August.

The same hypothesis, and this was another point in its favour, was sufficient to reveal to us the source of Cartier's nautical skill and also the reason of his choice of itinerary. Here is what another paragraph of the same article suggests:

In order to mark the importance of the man and his mission, Francis I conferred on "Master Jacques Cartier" the title of "captain and pilot to the King." The new chief demonstrated from the beginning a clear knowledge of the project, and a rare competency. Being familiar by practice with the topography of the American coast, he had already submitted the itinerary of his voyage to the King. Because of having doubtless visited it with Verrazzano, he knew by experience that the American sea-coast presented no breach—bay or strait—that was not soon blocked either by land or ice, except one opening to the north which no one had explored to the end: "the district of the Bay of Chasteaulx," the Belle Isle of

³Gustave Lanctot, "Jacques Cartier et son oeuvre" (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, V, janv.-mars, 1935, 33-48; avril-juin, 213-30).

to-day. To get there it would be necessary to follow the parallel of the port of Olonne, which would lead to Cape Bonavista "in forty-eight and a half degrees of latitude," north of which Chateau Bay could be entered.

This theory of Cartier's having sailed with Verrazzano in 1523 and 1524 had the advantage of being simple, likely, and conclusive. First, it explained the sudden disappearance of the mariner from St. Malo for two years. In the second place, it let us know how Cartier acquired at least part of his cosmographic knowledge and his experience in navigation on the high seas, and at the same time explained why Francis I appointed him to command an expedition of discovery. Finally, this same theory supplies the reasons that led the navigator to force his way through the Strait of Belle Isle in search of a passage leading to the "South Sea," instead of hunting along the front of the American coast as all his predecessors had done.

However, this hypothesis which solved all the problems and answered all the questions, this theory, so simple, so likely, and so conclusive, nevertheless presented one most serious weakness: it was still only a hypothesis, however ingenious, satisfactory, and well-founded it might be—a supposition which remained purely imaginary, so long as it was not based on an authentic document, on an established fact, or on a verified statement.

Now one day in the course of a new search, documents came to the writer's attention which had been already consulted, but before his mind had conceived the "Verrazzanian" theory. In view of this new idea these same documents suddenly appeared in a different light and the apparently banal phrases now carried an unsuspected importance. The net result of this further investigation of the materials was to strengthen the probability of Cartier's voyage with Verrazzano.

Thus, Cartier's first diary⁴ established clearly that the expedition was in known territory as far as the port of Karpont (Quirpon) in the Strait of Belle Isle, which according to his estimation was at the height of 51° 5' latitude. Next, Verrazzano's letter of July, 1524, to Francis I⁵ fixes at 50°, in round figures, the terminal point of his North American voyage, explaining that above this latitude the Portuguese had established the continuity of the mainland right to the North Pole. In addition, Laudonnière, in

⁴H. P. Biggar, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier, Published from the Originals with Translations, Notes, and Appendices* (Ottawa, 1924), 10.

⁵*Old South Leaflets* (General Series, no. 7), "Verrazzano's Voyage, 1524" (Boston, Mass.).

his narrative of the first French expeditions to America,⁶ affirms that the Florentine ceased his exploration of the Atlantic coast and turned the prow of the *Dauphine* toward France, after pushing his ship along beyond 50°. Still better, in the most complete of the three texts of his letter, the Cellere Codex, Verrazzano writes that he sailed up to 54° of latitude.⁷ Now all this evidence tended to uphold the probability of Cartier's presence at the side of Verrazzano, since it established that the exploration of the latter ended where the St. Malo mariner started his; and for the very good reason that the companion of the Florentine knew how useless it was to search again along the North Atlantic coast.

Also, Verrazzano's letter shows that he was the first to express the opinion that the "new land" of future America formed a continent. He believed, too, that he had seen the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean, beyond a narrow isthmus at 37° latitude. From this he concluded that there must be somewhere along the coast a strait leading from one ocean to the other. Now these are the ideas that Cartier professed when he set out to seek the strait which Verrazzano had spoken of. Therefore, would it not seem natural to conclude that the St. Malo captain had received his ideas from the Florentine himself during the voyage he had made with him on board the *Dauphine*?

But all these arguments—still far from being irrefutable—remained of a purely interpretative and hypothetical nature: they were not based on any historical affirmation. Happily, one fine day, a document which had been read and forgotten turned up—an apparently indifferent item, bearing the following title: "Genealogical extract of the house of Le Veneur, Counts de Tillières de Carrouges, by President (Judge) Henault, member of the French Academy, 1723." This document appeared in the double number 5-6 of volume VI, combined edition of September-October and November-December, 1931, of *Nova Francia*, the organ of the Société d'histoire du Canada, founded in France in 1925. It takes up pages 341, 342, and 343.

Now here is a paragraph which thrilled in the writer that particular fibre that is in the make-up of every historian:

Previously, in 1532, King Francis I had made a pilgrimage to Mont St. Michel. He was accompanied by the Dauphin and Cardinal Duprat, ambassador to the

⁶*Histoire notable de la Floride*, par le capitaine Laudonnière (Paris, 1586). Cited by Anthiaume, *Cartes Marines, Constructions navales, Voyages de Découvertes chez les Normands* (Paris, Dumont, 1916), II, 72.

⁷I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York, 1916), II, "The Cellere Codex" (Verrazzano's Letter), 78.

Pope. They were received by Jean Le Veneur in the double capacity of Grand Almoner of France and Abbot of Mont St. Michel.

It was during this pilgrimage that Jean LeVeneur presented to the King sieur Jacques Cartier, Pilot Mariner of St. Malo, a relative of the Bursar of Mont St. Michel Abbey, as being capable, in consideration of his voyages to Brazil and Terre-Neuve, of conducting ships in the discovery of new lands in the New World for the King. Jean LeVeneur pledged himself, if the King consented to give this mission to Jacques Cartier, to furnish the chaplains and to contribute from his funds to the expenses of these voyages of discovery. His Majesty having accepted, Jacques Cartier made several voyages and gave to the King New France, called Canada.

At last, here was an authentic affirmation of the fact that Jacques Cartier had navigated the coasts of America before 1534. For the above document is specific: Jean Le Veneur presented Cartier to the King in 1532, saying that he had already visited "Terre-Neuve." Thus the fact is historically established; as early as 1532, that is, two years before 1534, the pilot mariner of St. Malo had made a voyage to "Terre-Neuve," the current name during the sixteenth century for the New World. At once the probability increases tremendously that Cartier made this voyage under the orders of Verrazzano, in consideration of the theory seeking to explain his absence from St. Malo in 1524, his knowledge of American navigation, and the choice of his itinerary in the direction of the Strait of Belle Isle.

It is gratifying indeed for a historian to find a new document that supports his theory. But that is only the beginning. According to true methodology and in strict conscience, it is necessary to submit the evidence to the test of historical criticism. First, where did this document come from? Next, is it authentic? And finally, what is the value of its testimony? These are the questions which must be answered, before it can be placed in the files of history and used with regard to Cartier.

The origin of the item is very simple. It is taken from an autograph manuscript which was found in the historical collection of M. Léon de la Sicotière, a Norman historian well known by his numerous works of great merit which demonstrate first-hand documentation, a high, scientific probity and a scrupulous method. He was not a man who would be deceived by errors, trumped-up stories, or interpolations. The authenticity of the document is undoubtedly above suspicion.

As to the manuscript itself, it was written by Judge Hénault, who lived from 1685 to 1770. He was a personage of considerable standing in the French Court as well as in literature. Appointed quite young to the magistracy, he became president of one of the

courts in the Parliament of Paris. After having published some light verse, mediocre tragedies, and ingenious comedies, which won him a seat in the French Academy in 1723, he started to apply himself to works on law and history. He gathered together materials for a serious volume which appeared in 1744, under the title: *Abrégé chronologique de l'histoire de France jusqu'à la mort de Louis XIV.* This volume, noted for its accuracy, ran to seven editions in France and abroad. The merit of this work was recognized by the author's election to the Académie des Inscriptions in 1755. Combining a critical style of writing and a judicial conception of the truth, here is certainly a historian in whom confidence can be placed. It must be added, also, that as to his genealogy of the house of Le Veneur, Judge Hénault must evidently have prepared it from the archives of that family. In fact, one of his nieces had married Jacques Tanneguy Le Veneur, Count de Tillières, a major-general, and this relationship explains how it was that Hénault could consult and use these documents.

Unquestionably, the Le Veneur archives must have been important, for the Le Veneurs represented a family of considerable influence at the time of Francis I. With regard to Jean Le Veneur, who knew Cartier and was his patron, it should be remembered that he was the second son of Philippe Le Veneur, Baron de Carrouges, lieutenant-general of the Duc d'Alençon. Entering the Church, he soon became Archdeacon of Lisieux and in 1505 succeeded his uncle, Cardinal de Blosset, as Bishop and Count of Lisieux. A personage of importance, enjoying the King's favour, in 1525 he was appointed by him Grand Almoner of France, which was then equivalent to Minister of Public Worship, and later Abbot of Mont Saint Michel. In 1533, he attained the supreme honour of cardinalship. A close friend of the King, a high official of the Kingdom, related in some way to most of the high French Court officers, the Grand Almoner of France exercised a strong influence until his death in 1543.

In the face of this résumé of his career, it appears evident that the cardinal's private papers should contain items relative to Jacques Cartier and his voyages. Certainly, none was more familiar than he with the facts concerning them. From the French Court, he was informed of the King's plans and decisions; regarding Cartier, he knew the details of his career through a relation of the mariner who was the bursar of Mont Saint Michel Abbey. Finally, he was personally acquainted with Cartier himself. Thus, a statement regarding Cartier in the Cardinal's papers represents, from

all aspects, a verified piece of evidence based on personal knowledge and truth. It is a first-hand authentic testimony of indisputable value.

It seems, therefore, well established beyond all doubt that Cartier made a voyage to the "new lands" of America before 1534. By the same token the probability is much stronger that he accompanied the Verrazzanian expedition, since it was the only French expedition which coincides in date with the absence of the Brittany captain from St. Malo.

However, the proof remains incomplete. The Le Veneur papers establish the fact of a voyage by Cartier to the American continent before 1532, but do not give the date. It is still, if not probable, at least possible, that Cartier could have been exploring before 1532 on behalf of merchant ship-owners of Rouen or St. Malo. What is needed is an authentic affirmation from a verified source, fixing his voyage at the year 1524.

But actually this confirmation has existed, printed in black and white, for three centuries! But surprisingly, nobody—readers, students, publishers, historians—nobody seems to have noticed it. However, it is only necessary to open the *Relation de la Nouvelle-France* for the year 1614, published in 1616 and re-published twice since; and here, using Thwaites's edition of the *Jesuit Relations*,⁸ is the text anyone can read:

... this country was first discovered by French Bretons, in the year 1504, one hundred and eleven years ago, and since then they have not ceased to visit it. The Normans also assisted in these early discoveries; among whom we read that Captain Thomas Aubert, of Dieppe, sailed in the year 1508, and brought back from there some of the Natives, whom he exhibited to the wonder and applause of France. Two years before him, Captain Jean Denys, of Honfleur, had made the same discovery; but, as he brought back only some fish and Geographical charts, he has not become so renowned as Thomas Aubert. After the year 1523, Jean Verazan skirted all the coast from Florida to Cape Breton, and took possession of it in the name of his master Francis I. I believe it was Jean Verazan who was Godfather to this title of "New France;" for Canada (a name by which they also frequently call it) is not, properly speaking, all this extent of country which they now call New France; but it is only that part which extends along the banks of the great River Canada, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence; this being only the most Northern part of New France, as will be seen from the Geographical chart which we insert herein.

Acadie, or the Souriquoys country farther South, is next to Canada, and still farther down, on the other side of French Bay, is Norambegue. Of these two words, Norambegue and Acadie, there no longer remains any remembrance in the country; yet there is of Canada, which was discovered principally by Jacques Cartier in 1524, and then in a second voyage ten years afterwards in 1534.

⁸R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (73 vols., Cleveland, 1896-1901), 111, *Relation de la Nouvelle-France*, 1616, 40.

Here, at last, is an absolutely positive and precise affirmation that Cartier visited the Canadian coast in 1524. How is it that nobody brought attention to this categorical declaration, either to accept or reject it? The very simple reason seems to lie in the ambiguity and confusion in the French wording of the *Relation*. Consequently, instead of an attempt being made to untangle the text, it was put aside as being contaminated by inaccuracies which made it useless. But when the text is gone over carefully and critically in Thwaites's famous facsimile edition, surprisingly enough, it is found to be quite clear, precise, and exact in every detail.

However, this text also must pass the test of historical criticism. Its origin, of course, is known. Written by the well-known missionary of Acadia, Pierre Biard, in 1614, it was published in 1616 by the Jesuits in France. This fact at once establishes its authenticity. The essential question of its value as evidence remains.

In historical matters, which must be distinguished from ecclesiastical questions, the *Relations* of the Jesuits hold a high enough reputation for accuracy; though, if Benjamin Sulte and other historians are to be believed, this accuracy is not always above suspicion. These authors state that religious zeal readily led the missionaries to make exaggerations or biased interpretations. But in the text of the 1614 *Relation*, since it dealt with historical facts which touched neither religion nor the Jesuit order, there was no reason for the writer not to adhere to the strictest accuracy. Besides, the writer, Father Biard, though not to be followed too completely in matters touching his order, was "a man of merit and of exemplary virtue" in the words of Father La Rochemonteix; and better still, Lescarbot, who held little affection for the Jesuits, wrote that he was "a very learned man, of whom the first President of Bordeaux had spoken in high favor."

Besides, it appears evident in reading the *Relation* that, by a habit learned during his teaching career of getting to the bottom of his subject, Father Biard must have informed himself fully on Canada before writing it. And the precise opportunity and means were right at hand. It should not be forgotten that in 1611 he had to stay several months in or near Dieppe, on account of the refusal of Huguenot ship-owners to carry Jesuits to Acadia. Now at Dieppe, the great maritime centre of France, the home of the ship-owner Ango, the jumping-off place of Verrazzano's expedition, still lived many persons who were familiar with the trans-ocean voyages equipped in this port. These persons may even have

known the captains who commanded them. Finally, Dieppe was also the great centre of French cosmography. It may well be that Father Biard used his long months of inactivity in Dieppe to gather information concerning the sea expeditions that were armed, freighted and manned in that town.

At all events, either then or on his return to France, Father Biard certainly obtained conscientiously first-hand information from the best sources. If the two pages devoted to the history of French discoveries in America at the beginning of his *Relation* are examined, it will be seen that he did not commit a single error in his description and that the facts and dates he cited are verified by the most exact research today. The authenticity of Father Biard's evidence cannot be doubted nor its historical value disputed. Consequently, in his statement, the historian finds the documentary item that establishes the certainty of Cartier's voyage to the Canadian coast.

Perhaps some critic may object that the Jesuit's text is not definitively explicit; for it does not go so far as to say that Cartier accompanied Verrazzano. Then let us re-read the essential passage of the *Relation*: "After the year 1523, Jean Verazan skirted all the coast from Florida to Cape Breton, and took possession of it in the name of his master, Francis I. I believe it was Jean Verazan who was Godfather to this title of 'New France'." To that first paragraph Father Biard adds this, concerning the territory of Canada: "which was discovered principally by Jacques Cartier in 1524, and then in a second voyage ten years afterwards in 1534."

Some confusion may perhaps be seen here, since the author places Verrazzano's voyage in 1523 and that of Cartier in 1524, appearing thus to speak of two voyages. Actually, if the events and the intention of the missionary are taken into consideration, this text is perfectly correct and clear. In fact, it really was in 1523 that Verrazzano left Dieppe for his sea expedition, although it was not until the following year, in 1524, after making a first attempt in the direction of Norway, that he arrived at the American coast. What Father Biard was trying to bring out, in listing the French explorations in chronological order, was the date of the departure, which was exactly as he indicated. There is nothing contradictory here, nor in his statement that the Florentine skirted the coast from Florida to Cape Breton and gave the name "New France" to the country discovered. All that is perfectly correct and historical.

As to the second paragraph, which deals with Cartier, it too is equally irreproachable. It is not a mistake in wording or a con-

fusion of dates, since the author takes care to point out that the second voyage took place ten years after the first. It definitely means two voyages, with a lapse of ten years, the first in 1524 and the second in 1534. Now here, as it is a question of indicating not the date of departure of the expedition, but that of the discovery of the country, the narrator writes not 1523, but 1524, which is exactly the date when the Canadian territory—Acadia and Cape Breton—was discovered by Verrazzano. Here, too, Father Biard did not find it necessary to repeat Verrazzano's name, since he had mentioned it in the preceding paragraph. He was content to name only Cartier for the other excellent reason that he had passed from the explorations of Verrazzano to those of the Brittany pilot, who had made two voyages to the Canadian coast. As the Italian navigator was not on the voyage of 1534, there was hardly need to mention him in a sentence which joined the two expeditions of Cartier. What Father Biard can perhaps be charged with is having, in his composition, applied the adverb "principally" to both voyages, 1524 and 1534, instead of only the latter. The important point for the narrator was to record the fact of Cartier's two voyages, and that is precisely what his sentence expresses.

There remains now a last point to establish: the fact that the Verrazzano expedition visited the Canadian coast in 1524. Setting aside the untenable and rather fanciful arguments of Buckingham Smith and Henry C. Murphy, denying the fact of the Florentine's voyage, the most exacting and the best-informed contemporary history is in accord with the ancient cosmographers and historians in admitting the historical reality of the Verrazzanian expedition, as well as the authenticity of Verrazzano's letter and the map of his brother Hieronymo showing his itinerary and discoveries.

Today it is accepted by all that in the year 1523 the Florentine navigator left Dieppe to seek a passage to the "South Sea" and China, which he hoped to achieve by circumnavigating the north of Europe. Blocked by ice north of Norway, he had to turn back and, being caught in a storm, sought refuge in a port in Brittany. Again setting sail, he cruised for a while along the Spanish coast and then sailing west in January, 1524, crossed the Atlantic in a straight line from Madeira. After touching land about 34° latitude, in the neighbourhood of Cape Fear, he ascended the coast, exploring it carefully as far as Maine. He then skirted the shoreline of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. But he did not give a description of it in his report, for the excellent reason that two French navigators, Jean Denys of Honfleur, and Thomas Aubert of

Dieppe, had already explored that region. Besides, provisions and supplies started to run short, so that he could scarcely waste time on a coast already known. There is no doubt that Verrazzano and Cartier coasted along the Canadian shore-line and examined it. On the other hand, there is no positive statement that they landed anywhere, although the probability is that they must have gone ashore to obtain water and wood, according to the custom of sailors, especially toward the end of such a long voyage. From Cape Breton, the navigators skirted first the southern and then the northern coast of Newfoundland as far as the 50th degree of latitude. From there Verrazzano headed for Dieppe, making port in the beginning of July, whereupon he immediately sent a report of his voyage to Francis I, dated the 8th of that month.

Thus, it seems, the critical and documentary proof stands complete, that Cartier made a voyage to the Canadian coast in 1524. Now it is also established that the only French expedition of that date which explored Canadian territory was that of Verrazzano; and the date of his departure, 1523, and the date of his return, 1524, coincide exactly with an absence of Cartier from St. Malo from January, 1523, to August, 1524. The conclusion appears to be historically warranted that Cartier accompanied Verrazzano in 1524 and in the course of that expedition visited the Canadian region of Nova Scotia. It must therefore be admitted that Cartier's first voyage to Canada was prior to 1532, as mentioned in the genealogy of Cardinal Le Veneur and that this voyage actually took place in 1524, as stated by Father Biard in his *Relation* of New France.

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The Public Archives of Canada.

FRANCE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW FRANCE

IN considering the first fifty years of the history of New France the historian is faced with two closely associated problems, that of colonization and that of Roman Catholicism. In regard to colonization the French had done badly: from 1608, when Quebec was founded, down to 1640, less than three hundred immigrants had come to New France;¹ yet in 1641 at one blow a small and almost unknown company had sent out fifty settlers to establish Montreal, and it had succeeded in gathering enough recruits during the next twenty years to enable the settlement to survive its very real dangers on the frontier and to show signs of steadily growing importance. Alongside this lack of colonial enterprise on the part of France is often placed the fact that, in the articles creating the Company of New France in 1627, it was clearly set forth that only Frenchmen of Roman Catholic faith would be permitted to settle in the colony, and this notwithstanding the situation in France itself where under the Edict of Nantes a good deal of civil and religious equality was being enjoyed by the Huguenots.

Garneau has no hesitation at all in linking these two things together in one of the most fervently criticized passages in the whole of his *Histoire du Canada*: "Si Louis XIII et son successeur eussent ouvert l'Amerique à cette nombreuse classe d'hommes [les Huguenots], le Nouveau Monde compterait aujourd'hui un empire de plus, un empire français! . . . Richelieu fit donc une grande faute, lorsqu'il consentit à ce que les protestans fussent exclus de la Nouvelle-France . . . il portait un coup fatal au Canada en en fermant l'entrée aux Huguenots."² This opinion has been attacked directly or indirectly by almost all the nineteenth-century French-Canadian historians but, curiously enough, not so much because it was unsound as because, while it might be true, it was a truth that should not be revealed. The fact was, however, that Garneau was wholly wrong in his implication that before 1665 Huguenots had any desire to settle in New France and that therefore Richelieu's prohibition in 1627 had prevented large numbers of them from doing so; of course, after 1665, this restriction was much more excusable, for Louis XIV was then starting on a strenuous campaign in France itself to turn all his Huguenot subjects into Roman Catholics and he could hardly be expected to permit Huguenots to establish themselves in his colony across the Atlantic.

¹I. Caron, *La Colonisation du Canada sous la domination française*, 9.

²F. X. Garneau, *Histoire du Canada* (3 vols., 1st ed., 1845-8), I, 155-7.

What, then, lay behind the prohibition of Protestants as colonists in 1627, and why, notwithstanding the sluggishness of French emigration to Canada, could Montreal achieve so substantial a success in 1641? The answers to these two questions are closely related to one another, for they possess a common factor of great importance which has hitherto been largely ignored; this factor must be sought in French history rather than in that of New France.

At first the French government had been very doubtful as to the desirability of attempting to set up a permanent colony on the St. Lawrence. Sully said that "far-off possessions are not suited to the temperament or to the genius of Frenchmen," that "there is no sort of wealth to be hoped for from all these lands of the New World which are beyond [i.e. to the north of] the fortieth degree of latitude:"³ he was obviously thinking of the wealth in gold and silver brought home from the Spanish colonies. All the same, when the Crown granted the monopoly of the fur trade along the St. Lawrence, there was usually inserted, from 1599 onwards, a clause calling upon the monopolists to send out colonists to the new land. The chief motive behind this was probably not a desire to establish a self-supporting colony, but rather the fear that some other power might forestall the French and interfere with their valuable trade in fish and fur, unless they consolidated their claim by setting up one or two small but permanent trading-posts. Yet, notwithstanding these instructions, in 1626 a royal edict had to confess with some bitterness that the holders of the monopoly had taken out to New France during the past eleven years only eighteen colonists;⁴ while in 1628 Quebec could boast of not more than forty or fifty persons who might be described as ordinarily resident there.⁵ The fact was that the merchants were reluctant to spend money in hiring men to go out, and Frenchmen did not want to leave France without some greater inducement than that which the austere climate of New France had to offer; even the kinder land of Acadia failed to be attractive. Port Royal and Quebec were little to show for the work of more than a quarter of a century; indeed, even as late as the days of Richelieu, emigration to New France was so much of a joke that a man pursued

³W. B. Munro, *Crusaders of New France* (New Haven, 1921), 7; *Memoirs du Duc de Sully* (Paris, 1822), III, 493.

⁴Vicomte d'Avenel, *Richelieu et la Monarchie absolue* (4 vols., Paris, 1895), III, 222. In 1628 the *Mercure François* repeated this, saying that in the past fifteen years not more than fifteen men had been brought out to New France by the companies (*Mercure François*, XIV, 234).

⁵*Mercure François*, XIV, 233.

by his creditors might say jeeringly that all that was left for him to do was to go "to Canada to marry the Queen of the Hurons."⁶

Contemporaries were not unaware of this difficulty. Montchrétien, writing in 1615, complained that since the wars had come to an end the population had multiplied in France and people were living so close together that they "stifle one another. . . . How many men are there burdened with large families, living in extreme poverty, yet in manners simple and praiseworthy? It is this sort of people, not idlers, rogues, and criminals that should emigrate to a new world." But when he sums up the situation he finds that the French preferred to live in France with some little official job, rather than to try their fortune in the colonies.⁷ Lescarbot a few years earlier had spoken eloquently of the fertility of the soil of Acadia; in 1663 Pierre Boucher wrote his officially inspired panegyric on the charms of New France;⁸ yet at the end of the period we are discussing, Denys says much the same as Montchrétien had said at the beginning, for after going to considerable trouble to show that New France and Acadia could be made just as good a place to live in as France itself, he added rather despairingly—"It seems to me that everything that I have been saying is more than enough to disabuse those who have conceived so bad an opinion of New France. This is not to oblige any person of those who are in a good country to leave it, if he have there enough for his subsistence. But would not many poor unfortunates, who have the health and could do good work, be more happy in that country than in begging their bread in this."⁹ Poor praise indeed, but it is the best that even the enthusiastic Denys could give. The fact was that, except for the high-pressure emigration carried out under government auspices by Colbert and Louis XIV, there were astonishingly few Frenchmen who, of their own free will, were anxious to establish themselves in Canada.¹⁰

There is also no evidence before 1665 of any actual complaints from the Huguenots that the prohibition of 1627 had prevented

⁶d'Avenel, *Richelieu et la Monarchie absolue*, III, 223.

⁷Antoine de Montchrétien, *Traicté de l'Economie politique* (1615; ed. by Th. Funck-Brentano, Paris, n.d.), 315. See also J. H. Mariéjol in Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France* (9 vols., Paris, 1911), VI (II), 424.

⁸P. Boucher, *Histoire véritable et naturelle des moeurs et productions du pays de la Nouvelle-France* (1664). Boucher's dedication of the book to Colbert is dated October 8, 1663.

⁹N. Denys, *Description géographique et historique des costes de l'Amerique septentrionale* (ed. by W. F. Ganong, Montreal, Champlain Society, 1908), 256. Denys wrote his book between 1669 and 1671.

¹⁰It is interesting to note that there does not seem to have been the same difficulty in persuading Frenchmen to emigrate to the French West Indies; see C. de la Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française* (Paris, 1910), IV, 659-67.

men of their religion from settling in New France, for the simple reason that they had no more desire to do so than had the Roman Catholics; and before 1627 hardly any of the handful of real settlers that came out to New France were Huguenots. It must not, however, be thought for a moment that this was because the possibilities of New France had not been brought to the Huguenots' attention. If anything, they had shown more interest in them than had the Catholics, but it was the prospects of trade and of freighting that they concerned themselves with and not those of settlement.

In the seventeenth century the first holder of the monopoly of the trade in furs was Pierre Chauvin, a Huguenot. He died in 1603; de Chastes, who succeeded him, died in the same year, and Pierre de Gua, Sieur de Monts, who held the monopoly till 1607, was also a Huguenot, as were many of the merchants who were shareholders in his ventures, though Poutrincourt, to whom he granted Port Royal in 1605, was a strong Catholic; moreover the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith was stated to be one of the objects of the company, as set forth in the grant to de Monts.¹¹ Champlain tells how de Monts took a Huguenot minister with him on the expedition of 1605 to care for the spiritual welfare of his Huguenot followers, as the priest cared for that of the Catholics; the two preachers quarrelled and Champlain records that "I have seen the minister and our curé fight one another with their fists over differences in religion. I do not know which was the braver or which gave the best blow."¹² Champlain, a devout Catholic, was very shocked, for he considered that this was likely to undermine respect for religion and diminish the prospect of converting the Indians; yet, in 1614, when he formed his company for the trade of New France under the monopoly granted to the Duc de Condé, it consisted very largely of Huguenots for, as he says, "Catholics could not be found who were willing to risk so much, so that members of the pretended reformed church [i.e. Huguenots] had to be admitted."¹³ This explanation indicates clearly why the Huguenots had almost the monopoly of exploiting the profits of the fur-trade in New France.

When Champlain's company was deprived of its grant by Montmorency, who had become Viceroy in 1619, it was not on account of the religion of its members, but because they had failed

¹¹H. P. Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France* (Toronto, 1901), 42-9, 51-3, 59.

¹²Champlain, *Les voyages de la Nouvelle-France occidentale* (Paris, 1640), 46-7.

¹³Champlain, *Les voyages de la Nouvelle-France occidentale* (Paris, 1632), 221.

to keep the terms of their contract, because they had built no fortifications and brought out no settlers. Indeed, when the new monopoly was set up in 1621, it was again granted to two Huguenot merchants of Rouen, William de Caën and his nephew Emery, on the old conditions, including the continued maintenance of six Recollet missionaries for work among the savages; and in 1622 the old and the new companies united and were granted the monopoly of fur trading until 1635.¹⁴ Long before this date, however, the situation was to be radically altered, for in January, 1625, Montmorency sold the Viceroyalty of New France to his nephew, Henri de Lévis, Duc de Ventadour, and with Ventadour "being moved," as Champlain writes, "by no other interest than the zeal and affection that he had to see the glory of God increased in these barbarous lands,"¹⁵ religion entered into the picture as it had never done before.

Though New France was unaware of the fact, a fresh epoch was slowly opening in the relations of the colony and the mother country. As has been abundantly shown above, Huguenots had so far played a predominant part in French trade with the St. Lawrence valley. Champlain had placed his finger squarely on the reason for this, for the Huguenots showed in many ways that they possessed a flair for commerce that French Catholics did not so commonly develop, while their ports produced plenty of hardy sailors needed to take the ships across the Atlantic. On the other hand there had been no desire on the part of the Huguenots for permanent settlement; added to a reluctance to abandon France that seems common to all Frenchmen, was the fact that neither at home nor in exile had the Huguenots shown much enthusiasm for agriculture, and farming seemed all that there was for the permanent settler to do in Canada; the fur trade was for the transient bachelor. Of course it is true that by 1625 this Huguenot trading activity had produced some slight evidence of alarm in New France. As early as 1616 the Recollet missionaries had requested among other things that, in future, Huguenots should be excluded

¹⁴Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, 113-16, 119-20. Emery de Caën may have become a Catholic later, but he was a Huguenot at least down to 1626 when he was removed from the command of the fleet sailing to New France so that the Catholic de la Ralde might be put in his place (Chrétien Le Clerc, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, trans. by J. G. Shea, New York, 1881, 2 vols., I, 259); but by 1632 he was probably a Catholic for he acted as godfather at the baptism of an Indian boy (R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols., Cleveland, 1896-1901, V, 71-2).

¹⁵Champlain, *Les voyages de la Nouvelle-France occidentale* (Paris, 1632), Part II, 78.

from the colony, but it seems certain that they were thinking in terms of the conversion of the Indians and not about the strengthening of Catholicism among white settlers.¹⁶ Again in 1621, under Recollet influence, a small group of notables at Quebec headed by Champlain sent by the hand of Père Georges a petition to the King asking for the exclusion of Huguenots, but again their petition shows that what they were really excited about was the conversion of the Indians, better administration of justice, and better military protection for the settlement.¹⁷ Incidentally, it is interesting to note that this petition, in enumerating the grievances of New France, makes no mention whatsoever of a need for more colonists; just as the fur traders were thinking in terms of trade, the Recollets were concentrating on carrying Christianity to the Indians, an object with which any great extension of the colony would seriously interfere.

Montmorency as Viceroy had forbidden the de Caëns to allow any exercise of the reformed religion on sea or land,¹⁸ but there was plenty of it all the same, at least on the ships crossing the Atlantic. Sagard writes of the period 1624-5 that the Huguenots "held everywhere the upper hand in their vessels, praying their prayers and forcing us [i.e. the Catholics] to keep in the prow of the ship so that we might sing the praises of our God . . . and the reason for this trouble came from the fact that the leaders of the fleet together with most of the officers were of the pretended and reformed religion."¹⁹ Though Sagard on his return to France presented to the Viceroy in 1625 a petition complaining of these conditions, it is improbable that very much would have been done had not in January of that year Ventadour taken over the position of Viceroy from his uncle the Duc de Montmorency; and Ventadour was determined on action. Already in 1624 the Recollets had decided to call in the Jesuits to aid them in converting the Indians of New France; Ventadour fully approved of this and provided the funds for their first year's activities.²⁰ Now he went further: de Caën was ordered to put a Catholic in command of the fleet for New France and to see to it that the Huguenot sailors did not "sing their psalms in the Great River, as they had done at sea. They began to murmur and say that they ought not to be deprived of

¹⁶Le Clerc, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, I, 111.

¹⁷G. Sagard Theodat, *Histoire du Canada* (4 vols., Paris, 1866), I, 92-3.

¹⁸Champlain, *Les voyages de la Nouvelle-France occidentale* (Paris, 1632), 9-10.

¹⁹Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, III, 781-2. This was first published in 1636.

²⁰Le Clerc, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, I, 224-34; Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, 126.

that liberty. Finally it was agreed that they should not sing their psalms, but that they should assemble for prayer, since nearly two-thirds of them were Huguenots. And so," concludes Champlain mournfully, "out of a bad debt, one gets what one can." But the sailors apparently did not pay much attention to these orders; Father La Noue still feared that the Indians on the shore might hear the dangerous Protestant singing and Père Charles Lalemant, recently come to New France with the Jesuits, writes in 1626 to his brother that "the heretic still has as much empire here as ever."²¹

The Jesuits determined to change all this and Ventadour was the man they chose to effect their purpose. They could hardly have chosen better, for he was already caught in the swirl of that Catholic renaissance—half mysticism, half ambition—that seized upon France in the early seventeenth century and did not end until it had broken itself against the rationalism of Voltaire, Choiseul, and the Encyclopædists. This Catholic revival was in part a reaction against the laxity and secularization that had grown up in the French church during the wars of religion, and that had continued during the reign of the ex-Huguenot Henry IV; in part it was also a result of the counter-reformation that was achieving so much in the countries of central Europe; and in part it was the fruit of Spanish influence and of the combination of mysticism and austerity that had been developing in that country. In 1603 the Jesuits were once more allowed legally to establish themselves in France; by 1626 they had over thirteen thousand pupils in the province of Paris alone and their colleges were exerting a powerful influence upon the upper and middle classes, while the Capuchins were appealing to the lower classes, preaching and teaching at wide over the countryside, and claiming fifty thousand converts. In 1618 Adrien Bourdoise founded a seminary at Saint-Nicholas du Chardonnet to prepare young clerics for their vocation; even earlier in the seventeenth century Pierre de Bérulle had established the Congregation of the Oratory to train men for the priesthood, though from 1623 onwards the order gave more and more of its attention to the teaching of the young. Jean-Jacques Olier in his foundation in the forties of the Seminary of St. Sulpice was continuing the work of Bourdoise and Bérulle. In 1604 the latter had introduced into France the most austere of the Spanish orders

²¹Champlain, *Works* (ed. by H. P. Biggar, Montreal, Champlain Society, 1922-36), V, 194-5, 206-7, referring to June, 1626; Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, 126; Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations*, IV, 219.

devoted to contemplation and prayer—that of the reformed Carmelites of Sainte-Thérèse—and it met with almost immediate success. In 1600 the Ursulines came to Paris and in 1609 Angélique Arnauld brought the convent of Port-Royal to accept a reformed rule making for greater simplicity, greater sacrifices, and greater seclusion. Moreover this religious renaissance soon began to develop a more practical side; the work which Saint Vincent de Paul started in 1617 had expanded into the Sisters of Charity by 1633; in 1627 he founded the Priests of the Mission to bring a more active sense of religion to rural parishes; hospitals were established, for the sick, for orphans, for fallen women. And while Saint Vincent de Paul was willing to act as the agent for many pious philanthropists, he desired even more the practical and personal expression of religious exaltation: as he said, “*Aimons Dieu, mais aux dépens de nos bras, à la sueur de nos visages.*”

Everywhere new orders were springing up, or old ones being reformed toward a more mystical or a more austere way of life; this was especially true of orders designed for women; and they all found plenty of people anxious to enrol themselves in their ranks. Contemplation had a fresh attraction and hardship a fresh appeal, and as yet there was little of that neurotic self-gratification that gave religion a bad name later in the century. Civil war was for a time at an end, peace was breeding boredom, the Huguenot faith had shot its bolt; it was gaining no new converts, for it was plain and dull, and France was ready to welcome any excitement of the spirit that might bring a sense of adventure and of triumph.

It was not only in the cloister and the convent that men were seeking spiritual exaltation: men and again more especially women from the ranks of the nobility and gentry were trying to find ways to assuage their souls without taking complete refuge from the world, were praising austerity and virtue, were practising philanthropies whence divine dividends might be expected, were giving their money so that others might give their lives to convert the heathen; the thrill was there, even though it was only vicarious. Some were wholly sincere, many were finding that piety, if practised with a pseudo-secrecy, could be tremendously exciting. Was it improbable, therefore, that from heathen abroad they would soon turn their attention to heretics at home, to the Huguenots? There were nearly a million of these in France and not only were they a religious offence to the faithful but, secure in the protection granted by the Edict of Nantes, they were prone to insist on a position of religious equality, especially in provinces where they were num-

erous, in Normandy, in Poitou, and in Languedoc. Moreover, a growing hatred among the more fanatic Catholics was fanned by the sight of Huguenot prosperity; successful in industry, trade, and finance, they seemed to be getting possession of France's liquid wealth, they were dominating trade beyond the seas, they might in time come to dominate France's colonies as well. And the Catholic faithful were rapidly putting themselves into a position to do something about this, for the early part of the seventeenth century was not simply a time of spiritual triumph, of philanthropic endeavour, it also saw the church gaining strength in the body politic: confessors became important advisers of the Queen Regent, papal nuncios intervened in politics, bishops once more sat in the royal council, and above all the Queen Regent herself was very sympathetic to the changes that were taking place. The movement was still young, but at least it had a promising commencement under exalted patronage.

This was the atmosphere in the midst of which the young Duc de Ventadour had grown to man's estate. He was wealthy, and he belonged to a great family. In 1623 he married; but five years later he was willing to vow his young wife to God. In 1641 he himself took orders and he ultimately became a canon of Notre Dame in Paris.²² When Père de la Bretesche, Ventadour's confessor, died in November, 1624, he was succeeded in that office by a certain Père Philibert Noyrot, also a Jesuit, and it was on his advice that in 1625 Ventadour bought the Viceroyalty of New France from his uncle in order to foster more vigorously the conversion of the Indians.²³ Shortly afterwards Noyrot went out to Canada, only to be immediately sent back to France in 1626 by Lalemant, the Jesuit superior: "The heretic holds as complete dominion here as ever and therefore I send back Father Noiroit . . . in order that he may finish what he has begun; he is the most capable one for this affair."²⁴ The business that Noyrot was to finish is obviously the exclusion of the Huguenots from New France, and it is almost certain that he acted through Ventadour, over whom he enjoyed influence and who had already shown himself so favourable to the Jesuits; moreover, it was a natural method to employ, as Ventadour was Viceroy of New France and thus the

²²Raoul Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots* (Paris, 1902), 15, 143, quoting *Lettres de Saint Vincent de Paul*, II, 374, Dec. 21, 1651.

²³Camille de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France* (2 vols., Paris, 1906), I, 144-5, 149. Rochemonteix quotes the *Monument Historiae Missionis* (pars II, cap. iii) to substantiate his statement; it is not just a guess.

²⁴Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations*, IV, 219, Lalemant to Jerome Lalemant, 1626.

proper person to present its needs before the royal council. Therefore it is highly probable that it was, as Professor Hauser suggests, Ventadour himself who urged Richelieu to prohibit the settlement of Huguenots in New France when the new Company of One Hundred Associates was set up in April, 1627;²⁵ this did not, of course, prevent the Huguenots from sharing in the trade with New France.

That Ventadour had anything to do with the actual creation of the new company that was designed to foster trade and colonization in Canada it is impossible to say. It is certain that Richelieu was himself much interested in the development of colonial trade, and the objects of the company had been foreshadowed in the *Compagnie du Morbihan*, the regulations for which were drawn up in July, 1626; some confusion has been caused by the fact that this company was also sometimes known as the *Compagnie des Cent Associés*.²⁶ Therefore the commercial and colonial aspects of the scheme were well under way even before Isaac de Razilly presented his famous memorandum of November 26, 1626, in which he advised the formation of such a company with proper attention to the sending of colonists to New France, as in the past the merchants had hopelessly neglected their obligations in this matter; but he said nothing about banning Huguenots from the colony.²⁷

So in April, 1627, the Company of New France or of One Hundred Associates was formed, but with the wholly novel condition that the three hundred colonists, whom the company were pledged to bring out each year, were to be not only French, but also Roman Catholic. Yet in the French West Indies, where emigration was brisk, Huguenots were not discriminated against in this way, and even in the curious *Compagnie de la Nacelle de Saint-Pierre fleurdelisée* which was set up in May, 1627, though the *secret* articles forbade Huguenots the exercise of their religion, their residence in colonies established by the company does not seem to have been prohibited.²⁸ Faillon's suggestion that Hugue-

²⁵*Revue Historique*, XCIV, May-Aug., 1907, 99-100.

²⁶Vicomte d'Avenel, *Lettres... du Cardinal de Richelieu* (8 vols., Paris, 1853-77), VII, 587; VIII, 194.

²⁷de la Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, IV, 494-5. The reference of la Roncière gives on page 490 for de Razilly's *Mémoire* is wrong; it was actually published by L. Deschamps in the *Revue de Géographie*, II, 1886, 374-83, 453-64.

²⁸G. Debien, *Le Peuplement des Antilles françaises au XVII^e siècle*; d'Avenel, *Lettres... du Cardinal de Richelieu*, VIII, 195. It was not until February, 1635, when the *Compagnie de Saint-Christophe* was reorganized under new regulations into the *Compagnie des îles de l'Amérique*, that it was laid down that only Roman Catholics should be sent to Saint-Christophe; and in 1640 between forty and fifty French Hugue-

nots were barred from New France, in part at any rate, because their "insatiable love of money" had prevented the foundation of any colony at all and that therefore reliance was now to be placed on Roman Catholics alone, is not borne out by the facts;²⁹ nor does Richelieu's policy at home in France or in regard to other companies wholly support the view that he was penalizing the Huguenots as a result of the civil wars in which they were taking part during the twenties. Ventadour and his Jesuit advisers seem to have provided the real stimulus that set in motion the policy of closing New France to Huguenot settlement.

That this is true becomes all the more likely when it is remembered that it was in May, 1627, that Ventadour conceived the idea of the society which by 1629 was to emerge as the *Compagnie* or *Ordre du Saint-Sacrement*,³⁰ a society which was not only to be a whip to rouse to violent life all the French Roman Catholic antagonism to the Huguenots, but was also to provide a clear connection between this somewhat fanatic enthusiasm and the foundation of Montreal, to supply an explanation for the sudden practical interest that arose in 1640 in the colonization of New France.

The Catholic renaissance in France during the first quarter of the seventeenth century was quite satisfactory so far as it went, but it did not go far enough; it was disorganized, there was no concerted plan of action, there was too much casual unregulated enthusiasm, too much competition for the bounty of the pious, too much overlapping of activities, too little attempt to canalize not only the spiritual but also the financial wealth of France into one great movement that would restore the power of religion and of the church. Moreover these somewhat ultramontane activities were meeting with opposition: monasteries and convents did not always want to be reformed away from their old comfortable life; gentlemen did not like to see convents that had formerly provided pleasant and refined homes for their unmarried daughters now become hives of pious austerity; bishops, even ministers of the Crown, did not care to see an increase in new monastic foundations, for they were usually dependent directly on the Pope and almost always claimed independence from any episcopal control. And the bishops themselves were only too often not very interested in

nots left Saint-Christophe to settle the island of Tortuga (C. W. Cole, *Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism*, 2 vols., New York, 1939, I, 187-8; S. L. Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy*, New Haven, 1912, 29).

²⁹Etienne M. Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada* (3 vols., Villemarie, 1865-6), I, 227.

³⁰Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 10.

reform; very few had founded seminaries for the instruction of parish priests; many were non-resident or held positions at court. Many of the laity were demanding better sermons, better morality, better enforcement of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and this was often blocked by the cry of Gallican liberties. Their demands did not seem to be meeting with much success, and this was all the more serious because Huguenot preachers were not slow to point to the considerable evils that still existed, notwithstanding all the reforms that had been carried out in the French Catholic church.

To the more fanatic Catholics the whole position of the Huguenots in France was becoming increasingly unsatisfactory. It was bad enough that they should be tolerated and made legally secure by their Edict of Nantes, that in his foreign policy Richelieu should appear to be subordinating the Catholic religion to the interests of the state, that in 1626 and again in 1629 he should defeat a Huguenot revolt and yet not seize the opportunity to wipe out the freedom of the hated "religion prétendue réformée." It was ten times worse that some real tolerance was commencing to appear in polite society, that the emergence of a more intellectual age made it possible to see good on each side. Of course the middle class still retained a vigorous economic jealousy of the Huguenots, and the lower classes, especially in many of the towns, still enjoyed their traditional bigotry. But from the late twenties and through the thirties it seemed really possible that the two religions might in time learn to live together in mutual respect, if not in mutual love. Politically the Huguenots were no longer dangerous and Richelieu was preaching "toutes bonnes voies de douceur" toward them; from the religious point of view they were growing less aggressive, for their pastors were now educated at home and no longer came red-hot from militant Geneva. The Catholic Antoine Arnauld, looking back on these years, records that people were learning "by experience, that a diversity of views on religion was not incompatible with civil and political peace,"³¹ though a little regretfully he refers to this attitude as a "state of negligence and coldness" which was however "favourable to public happiness." To the really vigorous Catholics this growing acceptance of religious differences was intolerable; to them this meant that the whole nation was gradually slipping back into the accursed doctrines of the Politiques who, as Tavannes had said, "would rather have the

³¹Preface to volume I of Arnauld, *Perpetuité de la foi Catholique sur l'Eucharistie* (1670).

kingdom at peace without God than at war for Him." This state of affairs was anathema to the Duc de Ventadour and those who thought as he did, and from their determination to lead France along the paths that they approved sprang the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement—religious in its objects, but none the less esteemed because it could at times be used to strengthen the hand of the Queen Mother and the Ultramontanes against the over-great authority of Cardinal Richelieu.³²

Ventadour first conceived the idea in 1627; by 1630 the society had been formed and its earliest members clearly indicated its exclusive character: Ventadour himself, a great but pious nobleman, the Capuchin Philippe d'Angoumois, a mystical fanatic and one-time confessor of Marie de Medicis, Henri de Pichery, the royal *maître d'hôtel*, Père Suffren, confessor to both Marie de Medicis and Louis XIII, the Marquis d'Andelot, the Archbishop of Arles, French ambassador to Rome, Père de Condren, general of the Oratory.³³ And these were but a beginning, the order remained exclusive to the end of its existence; to be a member one must have either unrelenting piety, very considerable wealth, or real political importance, and there were but few members who possessed the first and nothing more.³⁴ It was essentially an aristocratic laymen's order, though there were always influential clerical members. Bishops were not much encouraged, for they too often proved hostile to a society that was ready to reform their dioceses whether they liked it or not. Yet the number of members who were bishops increased as time went on; this was, however, largely because the order picked clergymen of position and influence and

³²There is an admirable account of this period of religious flux in an article by A. Rébelliau, "Un Épisode de l'histoire religieuse," part II (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Aug., 1903, 540-54), part III (*ibid.*, Sept., 1903, 104-25).

³³Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 10-17.

³⁴The Abbé Tessier, in his recent article on "La Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement" (*Les Cahiers des Dix*, no. 7, 1942, 32), asserts that it was recruited from all classes of people, and he cites the case of Henri Buche, the shoemaker. Buche was in fact made a member for three reasons, (a) his pious devotion had given him a great reputation, (b) he collaborated in certain activities with the Baron de Renty, one of the most important members of the order, and (c) most important of all, he was to be used to fight the existence of Compagnonnage, especially of the Compagnons du Devoir, a workmen's organization of which the order profoundly disapproved. The Abbé Tessier's article is sound so far as it goes, but as it is primarily an undiluted eulogy of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, there are a good many historical facts about the company that he fails to mention. The best histories of the order are to be found in R. Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, and A. Rébelliau, "Un Épisode de l'histoire religieuse du XVII^e siècle" (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, July, 1903, 49-82; Aug., 1903, 540-63; Sept., 1903, 103-35); Rébelliau, "La Compagnie Secrète du Saint-Sacrement d'après des documents nouveaux" (*ibid.*, Aug., 1908, 834-68); Rébelliau, "Deux Ennemis de la Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement—Molière et Port-Royal" (*ibid.*, Oct., 1909, 892-923); Rébelliau, "Le Rôle politique et les survivances de la Compagnie secrète du Saint-Sacrement" (*ibid.*, Nov., 1909, 200-28).

naturally in due course they became bishops, sometimes helped by the fact that their fellow member, Saint Vincent de Paul, was on the royal council of conscience that determined clerical promotion; such men would be only too ready to co-operate with the order, for their objects were the same.

It was quite definitely part of the policy of the company to see that its members or sympathizers were appointed, if possible, to key-positions in church and state, and it had no hesitation in using its members' official power to achieve the ends that it had in view. This policy was probably inevitable, for the order always worked behind the scenes, never came out into the open to father either good deeds or bad, never confessed that, as an association, it had any existence. This veil of secrecy which shrouded all its actions, unfortunately too often associated its most disinterested philanthropies with an atmosphere of smug wirepulling and lobbying, of spies and informers, of back-stairs intrigue and the interested abuse of official power; the *Ordre du Saint-Sacrement* had little doubt but that the end justified the means. Consequently Molière, the foe of facile hypocrisy, could denounce through the mouth of Don Juan in "*Le Festin de Pierre*" this aspect of the company's policy, and his charges were not undeserved: "I will make myself Heaven's instrument, and under this convenient pretext, I will attack my enemies, I will charge them with impiety, I will know how to unchain against them those indiscreet zealots who, without knowledge of the cause, will cry out in public against them, will cover them with insults, and damn them with their self-assumed authority."³⁵

Yet secrecy was not part of the original plan, for it was not until 1631 that they decided that their assemblies should always be kept hidden from the public eye; but from then on until the end of the order in 1666, this secrecy, which d'Argenson calls "*l'âme de la Compagnie*," was rigidly maintained. Members were instructed never to speak of the company; after the first year or so members of religious orders were no longer admitted for fear lest they might, under their vow of obedience, be compelled to make known to their superiors the affairs of the society;³⁶ the statutes of the provincial company of Poitiers even exhorted married members to be careful never to mention the *Ordre du Saint-Sacrement* to their wives or even to those whose aid they hoped to enlist. Officials of the

³⁵*Œuvres complètes de Molière* (ed. by L. Moland, 12 vols., Paris, 1880-5), VI, 404-5, "*Le Festin de Pierre*," Act V, Scene ii.

³⁶Members of the Oratory were sometimes exempted from this ban and admitted to the company.

company put as little in writing as possible, they even at times sent letters without an address or a signature, and the greatest care was always taken to safeguard their minutes and papers deposited in the hands of one of their important members.³⁷ All the philanthropies of the order, all its persecutions, all its efforts to plant the Catholic faith more firmly, were done through individual members or through small separate companies, at least a part of whose membership belonged to the order. Like the subsidiaries of a great American holding company, these came out into the open, carried on work in their own names, discreet either through obedience or through ignorance, and administered funds that had apparently come to them spontaneously from wealthy donors, though in fact the money had been given at the order's suggestion or even to a considerable extent from the order's own coffers. And the money came in just as secretly as it went out, from collections made from its members, from gifts, especially from wealthy women, from legacies. But gifts and legacies must be made to an individual member, never to the order; on at least one occasion, a valuable legacy was left to the order by name, and rather than abandon their cloak of secrecy, the legacy was not claimed.³⁸

Why was all this secrecy necessary? Sometimes some of the provincial members away from the dominance of the Paris officials wondered; they even enquired and were told that it arose from a desire "d'imiter le vie caché du Sauveur dans cette Eucharistie." But there were far more practical reasons than that. An open association of so many powerful and wealthy men would have aroused suspicion on the part of church and state alike. Constant pressure for certain objects by one single society would have created bitter and concerted opposition, while the apparently spontaneous action of separate individuals appeared to be merely the result of a natural growth of public opinion. Moreover, it was soon realized that secrecy gave a romantic and semi-confessional glamour to the whole business, a glamour that proved very attrac-

³⁷Rébelliau, "Un Épisode de l'histoire religieuse du XVII^e siècle," Part I, 51-4, 59.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 54-5. That, notwithstanding all this secrecy, we are able to know a great deal about the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement is the work of René de Voyer de Paulmy, Comte d'Argenson. He entered the order in November, 1656, and was a regular attendant for ten years; he served three times as secretary and once as Superior for the order (Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 1-2). Consequently he was in an excellent position to know all their secrets. In 1696, in an attempt to persuade the authorities to revive the order, he prepared a manuscript describing it and reproducing a great many of its minutes from the private records that he possessed. This was published by R. P. Dom Beauchet-Filleau under the title of *Annales de la Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*. As d'Argenson was anxious to show how valuable the work of the order had been, he may be relied upon to present it in as favourable a light as possible.

tive to wealthy but well-born members of the middle class, to pious and prosaic lawyers, and especially to rich women with nothing to do. And probably most important of all, a powerful society well known to everyone, could not escape control either by king or by archbishop, while a shadowy and doubtful entity always acting through individuals, might be suspected, but would be very difficult to pin down to sufficiently definite activities to enable the authorities to decide exactly how and where control should be exercised. And the leaders of the order were determined that there should be no control but their own; as an important member, M. du Plessis-Montbard once wrote, the object of secrecy was "plus de succès et moins de contradiction." Therefore they never sought letters patent under the great seal; they based their somewhat doubtful legal existence on a private and non-committal *lettre de cachet* obtained from Louis XIII in 1631. From the Pope they would have liked to have received specific approval that could have been used to override any possible hostility from the French hierarchy, but the position of the French church was so delicate that the Pope did not like to go over the heads of its bishops and archbishops, and therefore would give no more than an ambiguous general blessing to their work. But their secrecy was preserved, a secrecy they valued so much that d'Argenson speaks of it as "the mainstay of the company's strength . . . without it the company would have been lost."³⁹

It was in this way that the Ordre du Saint-Sacrement fulfilled the first of its objects, that of turning the dormant wealth of France to pious and charitable ends, of co-ordinating the work of would-be donors, of serving as a great clearing house in which a good cause could be told where it should go in order to secure the money needed for its support. But it did much more than act as a mere source of information, for it retained a close supervision over every charitable scheme that it aided, however indirectly, and an even closer one over the very numerous projects that, as a society, it initiated. And in the long run, this supervision had but one end, to see that the authority of the Catholic Church was strengthened and made more universal. All this in part explains the nature of the membership of the order, for men of money and importance were needed, not only to put the order in touch with available wealth and to use their social and political prestige to lure gifts

³⁹Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 45-9, 174; Rébelliau, "Un Épisode de l'histoire religieuse du XVII^e siècle," Part I, 60; Part II, 556-7.

from reluctant donors, but also to protect and control the foundations that they had established.

Such a task as this could not be accomplished solely by a group of people living in Paris; therefore almost immediately after the foundation of the order, provincial companies were started along the same lines, first one at Lyons, then another at Orleans; within a few years there were about fifty scattered up and down France. These provincial companies enjoyed a modest independence, but they were not encouraged to communicate with one another except by way of the mother-company in Paris, of whose supremacy there was no doubt at all, for it was constantly sending down advice, instructions, even rebukes, and local companies were definitely expected to co-operate in any scheme and to follow any suggestions that the central executive might put forward. And the central executive soon dominated not only the provincial companies, but the Paris company as well. The officers consisted of the Superior, a layman, the Director, a cleric, and the Secretary, again a layman; and the Superior was easily the most important of the three. These formed a committee that after 1638 not only settled questions of admission to the order, but considered all matters before they came before the general assembly of the members. As time went on, many important questions were never brought before the assembly at all; each company came, in fact if not in theory, under the rule of an oligarchy, changing it is true, but usually drawn from a relatively small circle of important men, with the oligarchy at Paris in supreme control.⁴⁰

The activities of the order may be divided into two groups, philanthropic and religious, though there is of necessity considerable overlapping. Their philanthropies, either through individuals or through societies which they financially supported, were extraordinarily varied. Amidst pestilence, famine, and civil war the company in Paris helped not only their own poor, but those of the provinces; they strove to support the humble against legal extortions, and sometimes against the over-powerful; they visited them in jail, and, by the foundation of an *Hôpital-général* in Paris—and also in other towns—they provided a place where the poor could be cared for and put to work; alongside of this they gave the money for an asylum for women of doubtful character who had repented of their ways. They encouraged the company at Marseilles to do what they could to aid the galley-slaves and probably they sug-

⁴⁰Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 27-30; Rébelliau, "Un Épisode de l'histoire religieuse du XVII^e siècle," Part I, 52-3, 58.

gested or supported a good deal of the work for which Saint Vincent de Paul usually receives all the credit. As his biographer says, "When M. Vincent's schemes depended on the influence of the magistrates and the tolerance of the nobles, it is very likely that he owed to the Company the astonishing compliance and support that he met with. . . . Some circumstances in the career of M. Vincent, that strain credulity if regarded by themselves, are explained by the existence of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament."⁴¹

On the borderline between philanthropy and religion one finds them encouraging vigorous campaigns against the "nudités de gorge" of the ladies of the day, against the sale of what they regarded as indecent books and the practice of improper amusements, against swearing, and gambling and duelling, though the last two proved too strong for all their efforts. They sought the prohibition of carnivals, they attacked comedians and the performance of masques; and their hypersensitive puritanism was so strong that for five years they prevented the public performance of Molière's *Tartuffe*, holding that it was a parody of a typical member of the order, though, as Racine said, the Jesuits thought that it was directed against the Jansenists and the Jansenists were equally convinced that it was aimed at the Jesuits. *Tartuffe* was probably merely a general satire on the pious religious hypocrite, but Molière's *Don Juan* was almost certainly a masterly attack on the Prince de Conti, one of the more disreputable members of the Ordre du Saint-Sacrement.⁴²

It was their religious work, however, into which the members of the company threw themselves heart and soul. They restored churches, provided them with fitting ornaments, aided monasteries that had fallen into poverty, and supplied money for missions of every sort. They bullied magistrates into enforcing abstinence in all its rigour; they strove to make priests reside in their parishes, trying to procure punishment for those of scandalous life; they stirred up members of various orders to carry religion to the poor and the sick in hospitals and prisons; they tried to introduce more austere reforms into monasteries and convents. And especially were they vigorous and unrelenting in their attacks on blasphemy and heresy. They incited constant persecution of Illuminés and

⁴¹E. K. Sanders, *Vincent de Paul*, 108-9.

⁴²Rébelliau, "Un Épisode de l'histoire religieuse du XVII^e siècle," Part I, 70; Rébelliau, "Deux Ennemis de la Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement—Molière et Port Royal," 904-13; H. d'Alméras, *Le Tartuffe de Molière* (Amiens, 1928), 97-8, 102-4, 106-7, 112-13.

Quietists; they spied on and tried to destroy groups of artisans who called themselves "Compagnons du Devoir," though the ordinary authorities saw no danger in them; not only were these associations too radical in their opposition to the authority of the masters, but their initiation ceremonies were regarded as a parody on religion. The members of the order attempted to break up assemblies of Jews, no matter how harmless they were, and in 1649 they even urged the complete expulsion of all Jews from the kingdom; they waged unceasing war on the Jansenists, demanding their condemnation by the Sorbonne and by the Pope himself, for the Jansenists scorned those material aspects of religion that were so dear to the order's heart.

But it was against the Huguenots, those of the "religion prétendue réformée," that they directed their bitterest hostility. In this their policy was based on two main principles: in the first place, that the Huguenots should never be permitted to enjoy more than the irreducible legal minimum of rights granted them by the Edict of Nantes—and not even that, if legal trickery or official pressure could avoid it; secondly, that life should be made as unpleasant for them as possible, so that the contrast between their distress and the material comforts that the Catholics were getting would breed conversion. Therefore the various provincial companies were instructed to collect all the edicts, all the local decisions, no matter how dubious, and no matter of how minor a court, that told against the Huguenots; these were to be sent to M. Jean Filleau, a leading member of the company at Poitiers and a well-known lawyer, so that he might arrange them and publish them; in this way every advantage could be taken of the law to diminish the rights of the Huguenots all over France. A considerable collection had been made by 1645, but owing to Filleau's delays it was not published until 1668, too late to be of any use to the company.⁴³ Meanwhile the members were using all their official influence to get cases concerning Huguenot rights called to Paris, where there was more chance of securing a condemnation, or, if the judgment of a local court had been favourable to the Huguenots, they strove their utmost to get it quashed by the King's council. In addition to all this, from 1649 the order exercised constant pressure on the Assemblies of the Clergy to persuade them to demand from the king in return for money grants fresh edicts against the heretics.

⁴³Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 305-9.

For the individual Huguenot the company had no mercy. They fought the establishment of Protestant schools and tried to stop Huguenot charity, for fear lest it might gain supporters for Protestantism. They tried to prevent the Huguenots from setting up their own hospitals, and to abolish those that had already been established; in 1653-5 they bought up a Huguenot hospital and had the beds transferred to the Catholic Hôtel-Dieu in Paris.⁴⁴ When they could, the company had rules laid down that a Huguenot in a Catholic hospital should be turned out, if he were not converted within a reasonable time.⁴⁵ From 1636 onwards they were constantly trying to compel doctors to refuse to attend patients, if after one or two visits the patient had not confessed to a Catholic priest. To their credit, doctors and schools of medicine both refused to agree to any such thing; it appears to have been only at Grenoble that the local company was able to obtain such an order.⁴⁶ They were also very active in trying to exclude Huguenots from the professions, from municipal office, from trading companies, even from craft-guilds. For example, as early as 1631 they sought an order forbidding the admission of any Huguenot as a doctor, apothecary, or surgeon; in 1632 they used the influence of their friends among the magistrates so vigorously that the examining board found none of the Huguenot candidates qualified to be court attorneys; d'Argenson records triumphantly the success of their wire-pulling. The seamstresses' guild of Paris was supported in long litigation to keep out Huguenots from their membership.⁴⁷ Examples could be multiplied; everywhere by the aid of spies, informers, and friends the Ordre du Saint Sacrement was kept in touch with all that the Huguenots were doing, and everywhere by the use of wealth, or influence, or, if necessary, of intimidation, they were at work whittling down the liberties and rights that the Huguenots possessed. The tragedy of it all was that their policy reached real importance about 1638, just when there seemed some hope of the growth of mutual toleration between Catholics and Protestants in France. They did not directly cause the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the persecution that accompanied it, but their conscious and aggressive bigotry was mainly responsible for creating the state of mind that led the country to accept such action with little real protest. Rébelliau

⁴⁴Rébelliau, "Un Épisode de l'histoire religieuse du XVIIe siècle," Part III, 127-32.

⁴⁵Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 282-3.

⁴⁶Rébelliau, "Un Épisode de l'histoire religieuse du XVIIe siècle," Part I, 75; Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 280-1.

⁴⁷Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 277-80.

rightly describes their work against the Huguenots as a "chef-d'œuvre de persécution" and Mariéjol, a sound and impartial historian, sums up the history of the order not unfairly: "Quand on compare le bien et le mal qu'elle a fait, on demeure perplexe. Elle était pleine de bonnes intentions; elle a soulagé bien des misères; . . . Mais ses pratiques de délation répugnent et son esprit d'intolérance fait horreur."⁴⁸

What brought this powerful Ordre du Saint-Sacrement to an end? During the Fronde, most of the members of the company who took part in it, were on the side opposed to Cardinal Mazarin; even Vincent de Paul intervened in politics to try and separate the Queen Mother from Mazarin; and Jean-Jacques Olier, the founder of St. Sulpice and an active member of the company, was by 1651 congratulating her on Mazarin's withdrawal and suggesting a hand-picked group of pious councillors to advise her in church matters. Other similar actions made it clear to Mazarin that there was a strong organization working against him and only too ready to play on the Queen Mother's ultramontane views in order to diminish his power; by the late fifties he must have had a fairly good idea as to what this organization was.

Then in 1658 the local company at Bordeaux got into trouble with the Parlement of Guienne for sending defamatory letters to persons of whom they did not approve; it was shown that they had even brought about the imprisonment without any charge or trial, of women whose characters they believed to be unsatisfactory. At Blois in 1659 the town authorities tried to unmask the local branch of the company; and finally in 1660 the order was very unwillingly brought into the open by outbreaks of religious insanity at Caen, where men and women rolled in the mud and proclaimed themselves "les fous de Jésus-Christ." These disorders were partly the result of the mystical teachings and practices of the Ermitage, an organization in Caen founded and directed by Bernières-Louvigny. The publicity that ensued revealed that the Ermitage was the centre of a provincial Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement at Caen and that it was closely affiliated with the parent company in Paris. This came just at a time when the members' attacks on swearing and duelling had made them decidedly unpopular with the nobility, when a greater liberalism in thought and manners was growing up at court which made their rather puritanical and censorious attitude more and more disliked, and when young

⁴⁸Rébelliau, "Un Épisode de l'histoire religieuse du XVII^e siècle," Part I, 68; Mariéjol in Lavis, *Histoire de France*, VI (II), 374.

Louis XIV was only too willing to sympathize with anything that would emancipate him from the control of the Queen Mother, who was one of the order's strongest supporters. As d'Argenson writes, "L'esprit du monde ne pouvait souffrir la Compagnie."⁴⁹

Therefore when the Archbishop of Rouen officially complained to Mazarin as a result of the disturbances at Caen, the latter was only too ready to act, and in December, 1660, an order was issued expressly forbidding the formation or assembly of any society without the king's permission and the grant of public letters patent. Lamoignon, the first president of the Parlement of Paris and a very active member of the company, had secured the omission of the name of the Ordre du Saint-Sacrement from this prohibition, but there was no doubt as to whom it was intended to repress, and the company was very alarmed. They redoubled all their precautions and tried to fade discreetly into a shadowy background, but the secrecy which twenty years before had seemed so romantic and mystical, was now beginning to look rather silly and possibly dangerous. The old members were dying and timidity frightened new ones away. As in the interests of increased secrecy the officers of the order did almost everything that was important without consulting the members, enthusiasm began to wane and above all, contributions became more difficult to obtain. Yet "Soyez encore, s'il se peut, plus secrets que par le passé," the company in Paris wrote to the provincial companies. They were rapidly dying from too much secrecy.

Still the order put up a good fight; Mazarin died in 1661 to be succeeded in power by Colbert, Le Tellier, and Lionne, but the company found that it disapproved of them even more than it had of their predecessor. Its members did not like the anti-papal policy of Lionne and Louis XIV, they did not like to see the rapidly declining power of the Queen Mother, and above all they did not like Colbert's attack on the vested interests of corrupt financiers and *noblesse de robe*, who had often supported the company and from whose wives and widows they had received such large contributions. The case of Nicolas Fouquet is outstanding in this as in many other ways. Fouquet had made gifts to the company; his brother Francis was a bishop and one of their members, and Mme. Fouquet had given really large donations to their philanthropies; consequently, through their judicial members, especially Lamoignon, they fought Colbert tooth and nail in his attempts to

⁴⁹Rébelliau, "La Compagnie secrète du Saint-Sacrement d'après des documens nouveaux," 893-8.

bring Fouquet and his wholesale peculations to book. The leaders of the company were not dishonest, they merely regarded corruption as an unfortunate irrelevance, when piety was at stake. But to Colbert and to some degree to Louis XIV also, the Dévots, as they were often called, were linked with the opposition, were "des gens factieux,"⁵⁰ and might be really dangerous if their organization were allowed to grow strong once more. And the company saw their funds diminishing, their spy system falling apart, their relations with provincial companies getting looser. In 1666 the Queen Mother, Anne of Austria, died. They determined to make the best of a bad job, and after taking measures to secure the independent permanence of many of their charitable and religious ventures, in the same year they quietly dissolved the order, rather than risk discovery and discredit. The Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement had been an extraordinary society, at once a mixture of intrigue and piety, of smug self-satisfaction and real charity, of fanatic and unscrupulous bigotry and sincere self-sacrifice, of back-stairs plotting in the interests of a better world—a dignified seventeenth-century marriage between the Oxford Group and the Carnegie Foundation. This is the company that was in a large measure responsible for the foundation of Montreal.

The story of the Société de Montréal, as it is usually told, is well known; the Abbé Faillon gave it the form which it still possesses. As early as 1635 or 1636⁵¹ Jérôme le Royer de la Dauversière, an unimportant collector of taxes at La Flèche in Anjou, was inspired to conceive the idea of forming an order of religious women who would serve as nurses in a hospital to be established on the island of Montreal, a place of which he had never before heard.⁵² He cherished this idea until 1639 when, by divine guidance, he accidentally met Jean-Jacques Olier, the founder of St. Sulpice. They had both gone to visit the Chancellor Pierre Séguier at the Chateau de Meudon, and though they had never met before and had not even heard of one another, they imme-

⁵⁰Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 368.

⁵¹*Les Véritables Motifs de Messieurs et Dames de la Société de Nostre-Dame de Montréal* (anon., first published 1643, published as bull. no. 9 by La Société historique de Montréal), 14.

⁵²Faillon rejects the suggestion which he thought had been made by Dollier de Casson, that Dauversière got the idea of Montreal from the *Jesuit Relations*, for as he quite rightly says, Montreal is not described by them before the *Relation* of 1637, published in 1638 (Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations*, XII, 133). Actually Dollier de Casson merely speaks of a "relation" that told of the island of Montreal; this may refer to any account and not solely to a *Jesuit Relation*, so Faillon's argument is valueless (Dollier de Casson, *Histoire de Montréal*, ed. by R. Flenley, London, 1928, 62-3).

diately began to discuss their plans for New France, for M. Olier was meditating the foundation of an order of missionary priests to Christianize the Indians there. The result was that they at once decided to join forces, and almost as miraculously, Pierre Chevrier, Baron de Faucamp, a man of very considerable wealth, who had been recently converted to a pious life, declared his readiness to provide financial support. By 1640 Olier had formed a small society—the Société de Notre Dame de Montréal—or, as it is sometimes called, Messieurs les associés pour la conversion des Sauvages de la Nouvelle-France en l'Île de Montréal. Its object was to support the plan of establishing a colony on the island of Montreal and one of its most important members was the Baron de Renty. In 1640, also, Dauversière and Faucamp obtained a grant of part of the island of Montreal, first from its holder, M. Jean de Lauzon, and then from the Company of New France, the grant being made to them personally.

Meanwhile Paul de Chomody, Sieur de Maisonneuve, a gentleman from Champagne and a professional soldier of some experience, happened to read in one of the *Jesuit Relations* about New France and, being in Paris, went to call on Père Charles Lalemant to enquire if there were any employment there for a man of his parts. Lalemant at once put him in touch with Dauversière, who appointed him to the command of the first group of colonists for Montreal. The six members of the Society contributed all the necessary money, variously estimated at from 25,000 to 50,000 crowns; the recruits were enrolled and the expedition organized at La Rochelle by Dauversière and Faucamp, who throughout appear in the whole affair as the sole principals.

But from Champagne further help was coming, for Mlle. Jeanne Mance, inspired by the charitable foundations of Mme. de la Peltrie and of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon at Quebec, came to Paris in order to join in such good work. She saw Lalemant, who commended her zeal but said nothing of the projected colony at Montreal; she was then introduced by Père Rapin to Mme. de Bullion, a very wealthy widow, whose husband, the "surintendant des finances," had died a few weeks earlier. Mme. de Bullion promised to finance her in setting up a hospital in New France; consequently she set off for La Rochelle whence she had heard some ships were about to sail for America. There she called on Père Laplace, a Jesuit, whom she had met in Paris and who himself was going to New France; he told her about Montreal, and on the following day, wholly by accident, she met Dauversière at the

entrance to the Jesuit church and, though they had never seen one another before, Dauversière at once invited her to join the company. She accepted and the first body of colonists for Montreal set sail.⁵³ This is a naïve story, filled with more accidental coincidences than history would willingly accept; but it is not impossible to produce from it a rational and intelligible account of what really happened.

Very naturally the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement had been interested in the spread of French Catholic colonization and the conversion of pagans in the new lands of America—the two main motives for the foundation of Montreal. Ventadour had himself organized a Compagnie de Colonisation Catholique, and when a provincial Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement was founded at Marseilles in 1639, the parent company in Paris expressed the hope that it would interest itself in spreading religion beyond the seas. In 1653 d'Argenson writes that there were "great schemes and great enterprises in regard to foreign missions in which the Company was very strongly interested," and at the very close of their existence they succeeded in founding and endowing the Séminaire des Missions étrangères in Paris.⁵⁴ There was, therefore, no doubt as to their interest in establishing the Catholic faith firmly in the French colonies, and as a result of the previous connection of the Duc de Ventadour, their founder, with New France and of the very little that was being done in the way of Christianization or even of colonization by the Company of New France, it is hardly surprising that they determined to step in and give their aid to a good work that they felt was being seriously neglected.

Moreover the Jesuits, having control of all missionary effort in New France, were the obvious persons to provide the necessary expert knowledge of the situation, especially as Ventadour had co-operated with them on this matter in the past. And of all the Jesuits, the one most likely to be consulted was Père Charles Lalemant, an old student of the Jesuit College at La Flèche, who was a friend of several very active members of the Ordre du Saint-Sacrement, who had served for five years as Superior of the Jesuits in New France, and who had returned to Paris in 1638 to act as Procureur des Missions de la Nouvelle-France. It is more than probable that the order got in touch with Lalemant through one of its members such as Olier or Renty.

⁵³Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, I, 382-417.

⁵⁴Rébelliau, "La Compagnie secrète du Saint-Sacrement d'après des documents nouveaux," 835-6; Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 140, 153-8.

Meanwhile down in La Flèche, M. de la Dauversière learnt of Montreal, not through the *Jesuit Relations*, but probably from Champlain's *Voyages*, which were published in 1613 and again in 1632, and which contain an excellent account of its attractions, even suggesting how suitable it was for a permanent settlement. So Dauversière began to gather enthusiasm for Montreal,⁵⁵ and confided his ideas to his confessor who was also Rector of the Jesuit College and who might well have passed on the story to Lalemant, who had kept alive his connection with La Flèche. But this was not the only line of connection between La Flèche and Paris, for in 1635 the Ordre du Saint-Sacrement had founded a provincial company at La Flèche, of which Dauversière was certainly at one time a member;⁵⁶ if he were not so as early as 1638, he must have been known to some of those who were. Consequently news of Dauversière's pious ideas had no difficulty in reaching the ears of the company in Paris; Lalemant was asked to arrange for Olier to meet him and see whether he was the sort of man who could be trusted to act as an agent for the company; the meeting took place at Meudon in 1639.⁵⁷ Apparently he met their requirements, and from then on their arrangements for the founding of Montreal were made through him; with him was associated the Baron de Faucamp, who, as a man of wealth, sincerely interested in the project, would provide not only the initial outlay, but also the appearance of sound financial stability. Lalemant served on several further occasions as the intermediary between Dauversière and the company. When Jean de Lauzon refused to make any grant of the island of Montreal to Dauversière and Faucamp, they appealed to Lalemant and he used his influence—or more probably the influence of those behind him—to bring Lauzon to agreement.⁵⁸ It was Lalemant who sent Maisonneuve to Dauversière and, when it is remembered that Jeanne Mance saw not only Lalemant but also Olier in Paris,⁵⁹ it is quite inconceivable that they were not, directly or indirectly, responsible for putting her in touch with

⁵⁵There is no evidence at all that Montreal came into Dauversière's mind before 1635; even if Dauversière's grandson is to be believed, all that Dauversière was thinking of as early as 1630 or 1631 was founding an order of Hospitalières; where they were to work is not indicated. Jamet's argument here is unsound (A. Jamet, "Jérôme le Royer de la Dauversière," in *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, Oct.-Dec., 1936, 390-1).

⁵⁶Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 146, 233.

⁵⁷There is no need for the elaborate series of hypotheses which Jamet invokes in order to account for this meeting, and there is practically no evidence to support them (Jamet, "Jérôme le Royer de la Dauversière," 394-5).

⁵⁸Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, I, 393-4.

⁵⁹Etienne M. Faillon, *Vie de M. Olier*, II, 436.

Mme. de Bullion, for seeing that she journeyed to La Rochelle, and for there arranging that she should meet Dauversière.

The whole plan, with Lalemant and Olier as confidential intermediaries, with Dauversière as public agent and figurehead, with carefully accidental introductions to persons of piety and wealth who might be expected to contribute, is so in accord with the judicious secrecy of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, that it can hardly be doubted that they represented the real motive power behind the whole organization. And there is further confirmation of this view: it was Olier, not Dauversière, who organized a small company, at first of six members, to exercise general supervision and to collect funds; they also remained secret, and the only other member, besides Olier, Dauversière, and Faucamp, whose name we know was the Baron de Renty, one of the most influential and active members of the Ordre du Saint-Sacrement. It can hardly be an accident that in *Les Véritables Motifs... de la Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal* of 1643, the first piece of propaganda published by the Society, it is stated that, as in early Rome, the centre of inspiration for missionary activity was Paris; thus it appears that even here the Paris company overshadowed La Flèche. Moreover the only two persons that have been suggested as authors of this important but anonymous pamphlet, M. de la Marguerie and the Baron de Renty, were both members of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement.⁶⁰

As a result of letters which Jeanne Mance had sent before she left La Rochelle to certain wealthy ladies whom she had met in Paris, and of quiet propaganda which Olier had been carrying on, the membership of the Société de Montréal soon greatly increased from its original six; the *Jesuit Relation* states that there were thirty-five members early in 1642, while Dollier de Casson suggests that there were as many as forty-five;⁶¹ in 1643 the members of the Society could describe themselves to Pope Urban VIII as "several persons of the best rank in France, clergy and laymen, persons of both sexes, dukes, counts, councillors,"⁶²—an exclusive personnel that is in itself very reminiscent of the parent company. And for some years the amount of money placed at their disposal or contributed by them for the maintenance of the colony was very

⁶⁰*Les Véritables Motifs de Messieurs et Dames de la Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal*, 9; Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 148; A. Jamet, *Marguerite Bourgeoys* (2 vols., Montreal, 1942), I, 113, note 5.

⁶¹Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations*, XXII, 207-9; Dollier de Casson, *Histoire de Montréal*, 103.

⁶²Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, I, 469.

considerable. But they still preserved their anonymity, though in March, 1644, Dauversière and Faucamp made a formal legal statement that they had secured the grant of the island of Montreal merely as the agents of the Society.⁶³ Faillon has regretfully to confess that all his researches and even those of seventeenth-century writers have failed to reveal a full list of the members' names.

This state of affairs, however, could not last. Enthusiasm, and therefore contributions, began to lag, the end of the Thirty Years' War was followed in France by the Fronde, conditions in Canada were bad, those in Montreal were lamentable, the Baron de Renty had died, M. de la Dauversière was on the brink of bankruptcy, the Society was breaking up. Therefore Jeanne Mance returned to France to urge the remaining members to come out into the open and let their names be made public as a guarantee of their continued support of Montreal. They agreed and on March 21, 1650, a legal act set forth the names of the members of the Society as joint holders of the island of Montreal: two in New France—d'Ailleboust and Maisonneuve—and nine at home—Dauversière, Faucamp, Olier, Bretonvilliers, said to be the richest priest in France, Nicolas Barreau, Roger du Plessis, Duc de Liancourt, Henri-Louis Habert, seigneur de Montmort, King's councillor and master of requests, Bertrand Drouart, and Louis Séguier, sieur de Saint-Firmin. Six out of these nine were members of the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*: Dauversière, Olier, Barreau, Liancourt, Drouart, and Séguier, and Bretonvilliers was to succeed Olier as Superior of the Order of Saint-Sulpice; moreover, in an act of March 31, 1656, the names of Barreau and Montmort are replaced by those of Morangis and du Plessis-Montbard, two very important members of the company.⁶⁴ It looks very much as though the parent society in Paris had become thoroughly dissatisfied with the way in which things were being run by Dauversière and the rather amorphous body which the *Société de Montréal* had become, and had replaced it by what practically amounted to a committee of their own members. In 1652 even the very retiring Mme. de Bullion is found presenting 20,000 livres to the *Société de Montréal* through the hands of M. de Lamoignon, who was one of the most active members that the *Compagnie du Saint-*

⁶³*Edits, Ordonnances*, I, 26-7.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 27; Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 146, 148. Faillon says that Ventadour himself was at one time director of the *Société de Montréal* (Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, III, 60).

Sacrement possessed.⁶⁵ Apparently the suspicions of the parent society were well founded, for when Dauversière died in 1659 his accounts were found to be in utter confusion; it may have been mere illness or incompetency, but apparently the sisters at the Hôtel-Dieu in Montreal had more serious suspicions when they discovered that the income from their endowment was not coming to them and, as Sœur Morin writes somewhat cynically, "this led us to believe that this money was taken by him shortly after Mademoiselle Mance had given it to him to be put out at interest; but this he did not do, for reasons which we shall know in eternity."⁶⁶

Even the dissolution of the Société de Montréal is linked closely with the history of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement. In 1657 four members of the Order of Saint-Sulpice came to Montreal, one of them being Gabriel de Queylus who was to act as Superior; in this way it was hoped to provide a permanent priesthood for the settlement in place of the more casual services of Jesuit missionaries. During the next few years the financial difficulties of the Society once again became serious, contributions were more difficult to secure, and they incurred large debts which they had little hope of paying. This was somewhat parallel to the troubles that from 1660 onward were overtaking the parent society in Paris. By 1663 the latter were feverishly engaged in placing their ventures on an independent footing, if possible; otherwise they were made to realize that little further help could be expected from the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement. Therefore the Société de Montréal was forced to take very careful stock of its position. And that position was not a safe one. The government was definitely viewing the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement with suspicion and hostility; it was not likely that a body, such as the Société de Montréal, that was suspected of being one of its subsidiaries, would escape unfavourable investigation; this was made all the more certain when the Company of New France was brought to an end in 1663 and the king gave evidence that he was going to govern New France after his own fashion. Therefore, like the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement three years later, the Society decided to dissolve themselves after handing Montreal with all its liabilities over to some body that would safeguard its religious purpose and yet be free from royal suspicion. The Sulpician Order seemed the only

⁶⁵Dollier de Casson, *Histoire de Montréal*, 189.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 293; Sœur Morin, *Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal* (Société historique de Montréal, 1921), 126. The biographers of Dauversière have completely avoided discussing this side of his activities.

available possibility. Some such transfer had been discussed a few years earlier; the Sulpicians were rich, they had powerful backing, they had already taken on certain responsibilities in Montreal, and Bretonvilliers who had succeeded Olier as their Superior had long been a member of the Société de Montréal and knew all about its present position. Yet they hesitated to accept the charge, for the Society's debts were large and would have to be paid by Saint-Sulpice and, when Laval displayed his jealous antagonism toward M. de Queylus, they very nearly abandoned the whole business. On the other hand the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement did not altogether approve of the Sulpician de Queylus; but this was not too serious an impediment, for their whole-hearted adherent Laval was now Apostolic Vicar at Quebec and also in high favour with the Queen, and consequently had managed by 1663 to establish his power firmly in New France;⁶⁷ therefore the company felt that all would be well, the Sulpicians finally agreed, and the island of Montreal, together with all the rights and privileges of the Société de Montréal, was transferred to them. The last link between Montreal and the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement was broken in 1665 when Maisonneuve was gently edged out of the governorship of the settlement, though he did not in form resign it until 1669.⁶⁸

Finally, and very naturally, the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement made their influence felt in New France through the Catholic Church, and there it lingered on long after their actual dissolution in 1666. In the early days ecclesiastical jurisdiction over New France had been claimed by the Archbishop of Rouen and this had been accepted by the Jesuit missionaries. The company always much preferred to rely on the Papacy and in 1643 Olier and the Société de Montréal applied to Pope Urban VIII for direct authority, without recourse to the Archbishop, to be conferred on missionaries working from Montreal. Though this request was not granted, it probably aroused some suspicion among the Jesuits, and marks the beginning of a slowly growing antagonism between the company and the Archbishop of Rouen which culminated in the latter's vigorous attack on the company after the exposure of the Ermitage at Caen in 1660.⁶⁹

The Société de Montréal had failed in their first attempt to

⁶⁷Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, III, 60-8.

⁶⁸Jamet, *Marguerite Bourgeoys*, I, 276-81; this has a good discussion of Maisonneuve's retirement, though Jamet does not notice how closely it coincides with the final dissolution of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement.

⁶⁹Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, I, 468-72; Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 352-60.

secure ecclesiastical independence, but they persisted. In 1643 they suggested that a bishopric of Montreal should be established, the first incumbent to be a M. Le Gauffre, who was prepared to subscribe 30,000 livres to provide endowment for the bishopric. He had once been a *maître des comptes* and was very wealthy; now he was a priest and an ardent member of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, as well as a partner in the Société de Montréal. The Jesuits blocked this plan also, but when Le Gauffre died in 1645 he left a considerable sum of money to the Society for the foundation of a bishopric at Montreal, making the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement the executor of his will. The heirs contested the will; the company, rather than admit its corporate existence, refused to defend the bequest, and it was lost.⁷⁰ But the scheme for the bishopric was not dropped; when the Sulpicians were invited to Montreal in 1656 it was proposed that M. de Queylus, their Superior, should be made Bishop of Montreal; the Jesuits at once countered by putting forward François de Laval-Montigny as their candidate. Though the bishopric was not created, de Queylus was made grand-vicar for New France by the Archbishop of Rouen. The situation was, from the point of view of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, becoming very complicated. The Archbishop of Rouen was showing himself more and more to be their enemy and the enemy of much that they stood for;⁷¹ therefore any officer of his appointment they would oppose. On the other hand de Queylus had the approval of the Société de Montréal. Yet the Jesuits, though never controlling the company's policy, had always been sympathetic toward it, and above all Laval, their nominee, was a member of the company and deeply imbued with its most extreme principles, for he had been a disciple of Bernières-Louvigny, the founder and director of the Ermitage at Caen. The company decided to back Laval, and he was appointed the Vicar-Apostolic at Quebec in 1659; New France was freed from the control of the Archbishop of Rouen and placed, they hoped, under the direct authority of the Papacy, an end toward which they had been working ever since 1643. On December 28, 1659, d'Argenson reports that Laval wrote from New France to the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement saying that "though he might be separated from them by more than 1,200 leagues, he would never be apart from

⁷⁰Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, II, 47-53; Dollier de Casson, *Histoire de Montréal*, 103, 145; Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 32, 40, 148.

⁷¹By 1660 the Archbishop was advising Mazarin that the company should be dissolved and the company knew this (Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 360).

them in spirit."⁷² He soon proved that this was true. New France was not only to be wholly Catholic; it was also, if Laval could succeed, going to be ruled by the ministers of the Church and those who would support them. To Laval the complete prohibition of the Huguenot faith was just as dear as it had been to Ventadour in 1627; in October, 1661, he wrote, "We will not suffer here any heretical sect; this the King piously promised me when I demanded it of him before leaving France."⁷³

The ultramontane spirit burned as brightly in Laval as in any other member of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement. He secured the recall of the governor, M. d'Avaugour, and in 1663 he used his own influence and that of his friends to obtain the appointment of M. de Mézy, a member of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement of Caen and a fellow disciple with Laval of Bernières-Louvigny and the Ermitage; jointly they were to appoint the new council and this meant that Laval was able to fill it with his own supporters. For a year he was supreme in New France; then the appearance of power went to de Mézy's head and he revolted against Laval's control, and in 1665 he died. With Courcelle and Talon, however, Laval was not to have it all his own way. The Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement was dissolved, the power of the Dévots at court was waning, and Louis XIV and Colbert were not prepared to see a clerical government set up across the Atlantic. Laval remained powerful, but never quite so powerful as he had hoped to be when he and de Mézy ruled New France in that spirit of puritanic and omnipotent piety for which the company so long had fought, the spirit of Church and King, not King and Church.

We can now see somewhat more clearly how to solve the two problems that have made the early history of New France so difficult to understand: Roman Catholicism and colonization. It was the spirited renaissance of French Catholicism that seized upon Ventadour and that he in turn crystallized in the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement; it was this that made New France Roman Catholic and saw that she remained Roman Catholic, that stood behind the foundation of Montreal and sent out the settlers and provided the money and supplies that saved it from disaster; and finally in the person of Laval, it was this same spirit that saw that the Church was firmly established, independent of Gallican bishops and safe from any dangerous liberalism. If we add together all the

⁷²Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, II, 271-9, 299-300, 332-3; Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots*, 150, 152, 239-40, 338, 360.

⁷³Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, III, 170.

apparently unrelated facts, if we recognize the difficulties presented to the historian by the veil of discreet secrecy which the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement cast over all its works, we may say with some certainty that Montreal was not founded by the rather incompetent Dauversière or the mystic Olier, that it was not the result of a series of divinely inspired accidents, but that it was the fruit of the labours of a body of men who knew perfectly well what they were doing, who were in a modest way planning to create a religious empire beyond the Atlantic to which they hoped that Frenchmen might go in much the same spirit as that which sent them into religious orders or to the performance of charitable works. In this hope they failed, for they did not succeed in creating any desire for colonization in France—pious or otherwise. Possibly the religious motive was sufficient to send the first Montreal settlers across the Atlantic, but later ones had to be promised good wages before they would agree to go and were offered very considerable financial inducements if they would stay beyond the five years for which they had been hired.⁷⁴ The French lower classes remained apathetic and the upper classes openly scornful of the charms of life in New France. But the Company did provide a fairly steady stream of money, a constant interest in the new venture, a pious enthusiasm for conversion, and often a ruthless driving force that was to leave its mark on France and New France alike.

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⁷⁴*Ibid.*, II, 186-9.

DIRECT LEGISLATION AND THE ORIGINS OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

THE Progressive movement of the 1920's in the Canadian West had many origins. It was the latest upsurge of agrarian and frontier democracy. In sectional revolt against the domination of finance and politics by the East, the early Progressives were also in moral revolt against the "corrupt" and sophisticated practices of the national parties. Progressivism was encumbered by no dogma save faith in the virtue of the people, and under its banners mustered the doctrines and causes current in the day, single tax, prohibition, co-operation, group government, socialism, pacifism, in short, secular evangelism in all its manifestations.

Diverse though its sources might be, Progressivism was marked by a single conviction, that all evils might be remedied by direct political action of the people. In this it was in true line of descent from Rousseau and Jefferson, and herein lay its strength and its appeal. The people, however, were perverted by the existing parties. The first task, therefore, was to free the people from the grip of the old parties, in which there was no good. They had become "machines," dominated by "bosses," and subservient to the "interests."

In the West this loss of faith in the old parties was caused, in great part, by the record of the Liberal party since its rise to power in 1896, and particularly by its failure to lower the tariff. In power the party had grown sleek and urbane. From being the harsh conscience of the country when in opposition, it had become the gracious master of ceremonies as the country revelled in the unexampled prosperity of the Laurier boom. In 1910 the organized farmers of the Canadian Council of Agriculture demanded a lowering of the tariff, which was attempted in the abortive reciprocity agreement with the United States in the following year. That recognition of the growing power of the West, however, led to a rift in the Liberal party and its defeat at the polls in 1911. From that date more radical Westerners grew increasingly sceptical of the good faith of either of the old parties and of the hope of influencing them. "We had a Free Trade party once," remarked F. J. Dixon, the independent labour politician of Winnipeg, "The Liberal party before the advent of the golden silence of office was a Free Trade party."¹ Even less, of course, could be expected from the traditionally protectionist Conservatives.

¹"Independent Political Action Needed," *The Grain Growers' Guide*, Sept. 9, 1915.

If nothing was to be gained by supporting one or other of the old parties, other lines of action would have to be developed. There were two possibilities. One was the creation of a third party, an independent or farmers' party. This course, after being debated for a decade, was adopted in the federal election of 1921, as had already been done in Ontario, Manitoba, and Alberta. A third party, if it did not win a majority, might at least gain the balance of power. The other possibility was direct legislation, since the problem was to ensure that the will of the people, thwarted by the lobbying of the interests and the compromises of unprincipled national parties, should prevail in government. The electorate, that is, might secure control of the process of legislation by means of the initiative, the referendum, and the recall.

Of these political devices, called collectively direct legislation, the initiative and referendum were designed to ensure the participation of the electorate in legislation, while the recall, not always coupled with the other two, was meant to ensure control by the electorate of legislators and public officials. The initiative confers on a stated proportion of the electors in a constituency the power to propose bills for submission to the legislature or to the voters. The referendum provides for the submission of proposed legislation to the electorate, ratification to be by a stated percentage of the electorate. The referendum might be legislation itself, or mandatory upon, or for the instruction of, the legislature. In Canada, where the legislatures are sovereign, it could in form be only consultative, except in municipal government. The recall authorizes a stated percentage of electors to demand the unseating of a representative or a public official, where elective, by vote of the electorate.

A third party and direct legislation were not, of course, incompatible, and were not so regarded. Advocates of one were usually advocates of the other. There were, however, special difficulties in the way of a third party movement. One was existing party loyalties, at once dear to the clannish Canadian temperament and a political convenience in that party members always knew how to vote on election day. Another was more germane to the theme. The Grain Growers' associations, provincial and local, were the principal forums of agitation for both a third party and direct legislation. They were, however, non-partisan in composition and it was essential to their success as co-operative associations that they remain so, at least as long as party ties were kept up. A third party movement threatened the organizations with cleavage along

the old party lines, or with disintegration into old party and third party groups. It was this consideration, in great part, which prolonged the third party debate from 1911 to 1921.

Direct legislation, on the other hand, raised no partisan issues. Indeed, it promised to make them largely irrelevant. E. A. Partridge of Sintaluta, Saskatchewan, a principal organizer of the grain growers' movement, wrote to the press, "I am not in sympathy with the proposal to establish the Third Party. There is without doubt great unrest among western farmers. . . . They should seek the passage of a satisfactory Direct Legislation bill. . . ."² It is a safe surmise that some, at least, of the support which direct legislation received in the Grain Growers' associations and the United Farmers of Alberta it owed to its non-partisan nature.

But from what sources was the inspiration of the advocates of direct legislation drawn?

The answer in general is simple. The authentic sources of the interest in direct legislation were American. It is but one more instance in the long series of American influences on political thought and custom in Canada. In this as in other ways the Progressives were the true heirs of the Grits.³ Examples of American influence on the movement for direct legislation might be given at length. The Direct Legislation League of Manitoba, for instance, had as its organizer in 1910 Frank E. Coulter of Oregon,⁴ and until 1913 was financed, in part at least, by Joseph Fels,⁵ a Chicago soap-maker and millionaire, who had been converted to single tax and other radical causes by Keir Hardie. *The Grain Growers' Guide*, official organ of the United Grain Growers, was an ardent and constant advocate of direct legislation. In its pages are many references to the adoption of direct legislation by a growing list of states of the Union, and numerous articles, many by American writers, explaining and extolling the reform. There were, of course, other less discernible channels, notably the great American immigration before 1911, by which the influence of progressivism entered the West.

The mistake was not made, however, of relying on American example alone. The demand of Lord Lansdowne for a referendum on Home Rule for Ireland, and the views of British writers, such as

²The Manitoba *Free Press*, Feb. 24, 1914, 5, Letter to the Editor.

³F. H. Underhill, "The Development of National Political Parties in Canada" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XVI, Dec., 1935, 386).

⁴*The Grain Growers' Guide*, Dec. 28, 1910, 5.

⁵*Ibid.*, May 7, 1915, 6.

Lecky and Selborne, were quoted by the *Guide* and the *Manitoba Free Press*. References were also made to the use of the referendum in Australia, particularly when direct legislation was challenged as being unconstitutional and un-British.

This may have been to some degree a matter of sweetening the pill, but it is to be remembered that the Progressive movement before the Winnipeg Strike of 1919 included labour as well as agrarian elements. These to a great extent were newcomers from the British Isles, men such as F. J. Dixon, organizer of the Direct Legislation League of Manitoba in 1912, and S. J. Farmer, an advocate of that reform. Both were among the founders of the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba.

Direct legislation was promoted in the usual way by press, pamphlet, and public addresses. Activity in this respect was at its height in 1911 and 1912, when interest in the Oregon experiment was at its greatest. The endeavour was not so much to carry on a general propaganda as to win the support of existing organizations committed to some particular cause. The Manitoba Federation for Direct Legislation comprised the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, the Trades and Labor Council, the Manitoba League for the Taxation of Land Values, and the Royal Templars of Temperance.⁶ The Grain Growers of Manitoba endorsed direct legislation in 1909, the United Farmers of Alberta in 1910, the Grain Growers of Saskatchewan in 1911.

This was but natural, for the purpose of direct legislation, to give the voter direct control of the political process, was the equivalent of that of the great co-operative associations, to give the producer control of the marketing process. Both the organized farmers and the advocates of direct legislation felt that the old parties were too little moved by their demands; both thought the old parties subservient to the big interests, the railways, the banks, the grain trade, and monopolies and trusts in general.

The spirit which made the two movements kin is evident in this passage from the presidential address of R. C. Henders before the convention of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association at Brandon in 1912. "... the sovereign people have, I might say, no direct efficient control. They are sovereign *de jure* but not *de facto*, except at election times. The actual power experienced by the people consists chiefly in the periodic choice of another set of masters who make laws to suit themselves and enforce them until their term of office expires, regardless of the will of the people. We

⁶*Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1910, 6.

are governed by an elective aristocracy, which in its turn is largely controlled by an aristocracy of wealth. Behind the government and the legislatures are the corporations and the trusts . . . behind the political monopolists are the industrial monopolists . . . the principal remedy is direct legislation."⁷

The work that was done among the farmers is indicated by a report made to the United Farmers of Alberta by the President, W. J. Tregillus. "After showing the absolute necessity of organization I explained Direct Legislation at every meeting and showed how simply and effectively it worked, and urged with all the power I possessed for everyone to work for its establishment in our province, which would enable us to remove many of the existing evils in a short time."⁸

In addition Grain Growers' locals endorsed direct legislation, coupling it often with a demand for a farmers' party. Seldom does political innocence speak with more solemn and endearing accents than in this resolution of the Killarney Branch of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association:

Whereas, under the present system of representative government individuals and corporations receive special privileges that enable them unduly to oppress the producers and consumers, and the people do not have an opportunity to voice and vote on specific issues, nor have they the right to introduce legislation, or recall unworthy representatives; and whereas the democracy which we wish to establish is the enthronement of two great ideals, namely political democracy, the right of every man to voice and vote in the government under which he lives; industrial democracy, the right of every man to an equal share in the wealth of the state according to his skill and ability; and whereas the consumers have been struggling and fighting for public ownership and control of industry and its democratic management in the interests of the people, co-operative industry in which all shall work together in harmony as a basis for a new social order, a higher civilization, and a real democracy; and whereas we believe that Direct Legislation is the keystone of the arch of popular government, for by means of it the people may initiate good laws and reject bad laws, or dismiss an unworthy member of the legislature; therefore be it resolved that we, the Killarney branch of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, are of opinion that Direct Legislation, namely, the Initiative and Referendum, would be of unquestionable benefit in the solution of many of the political problems that now confront us and unanimously endorse the principle of Direct Legislation and request that our executive do their utmost to have it enacted at an early date.⁹

Individual Grain Growers also, notably E. A. Partridge, and John L. Kennedy, vice-president of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, were outspoken proponents of the farmers intervening in politics by means of direct legislation. Said Mr. Partridge at

⁷*Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1912, 7. ⁸*Ibid.*, April 19, 1911, 9. ⁹*Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1911, 28.

Wapella, Saskatchewan, in 1909: "The introduction of the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, the fixing of the times of the election, the introduction of fairer methods of registering the popular will in choosing representatives, and the whole question of revenue and taxation, are desirable subjects of investigation at the hands of the electorate, while organization is being completed to enable the popular will to eventually prevail."¹⁰ Mr. Kennedy addressed the convention of the Manitoba Grain Growers' in 1909 as follows: "Direct Legislation will establish self-government in place of government by council and legislatures; democracy in place of elective aristocracy; government by and for the people, in place of government by and for the politicians and the corporate interests whose instruments they are."¹¹ In similar vein are many letters to the editor in the columns of the *Guide* and the *Free Press*.

A like appeal was made to other organizations and in many cases with equal success. In his report as organizer at the annual banquet of the Direct Legislation League in Winnipeg, 1916, F. J. Dixon stated that he had addressed one hundred and forty meetings in Manitoba, which were attended by nine thousand people. Organizations addressed included the Presbyterian Synod, the Methodist Conference, Sunday school picnics, church clubs, Epworth Leagues, and trade unions.¹² The temperance organizations were also keenly interested in direct legislation as a means of attaining their objective.

The connection between the movement for direct legislation and temperance reform was indeed especially close. As it turned out, first prohibition, and then government control of the sale of liquor, were the only achievements of direct legislation in the West. Nothing better illustrates the causes of incomplete acceptance of direct legislation in the United States and its limited use in those states where it was accepted. The support it received was derived largely from special groups seeking definite ends in legislation. When those ends were accomplished or abandoned, interest in direct legislation lessened, particularly as it failed to achieve the general purpose of its supporters, the purification of politics.

So the agitation went on. In general direct legislation appealed to those who had a special cause to advance, a class interest, a moral reform, or a "one idea" remedy for existing ills. In provincial politics, especially in Manitoba, it seemed to open a way to cleaner political practices by ending "machine rule," which was

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Aug. 4, 1909, 9.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1909, 17.

¹²*Ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1912, 26.

produced by hard-set party loyalties coupled with opportunities for corruption at a time when great natural resources were being alienated, and when also there was a temptation to influence blocs of immigrant voters unversed in democratic procedure.

Because it had so wide an appeal, direct legislation was taken up by the party organizations, by both parties in Alberta and Saskatchewan, by the Liberal party of Manitoba, in opposition since 1899. The Liberal government of Premier Walter Scott in Saskatchewan passed an Act in 1913 to establish direct legislation. It was to become operative on ratification by 30 per cent of the electorate, but failed to win the required support. In the same year the Liberal government of Premier A. L. Sifton sponsored an Act in the Alberta legislature, though not as comprehensive a one as the advocates of direct legislation wished. Money bills, for example, were exempt from its operation.

In Manitoba it was to have a more exciting and informative history. The Manitoba Liberal Convention in April, 1910, adopted a motion to include direct legislation in its platform. This was moved by John Williams of Arthur, who had been in favour of direct legislation since 1903, warmly supported by L. St. G. Stubbs of Birtle, and T. H. Johnson of Winnipeg, and unanimously voted by the Convention.¹³ The Liberals, however, were defeated in the elections of 1910 and 1914.

The agitation for direct legislation none the less continued and grew in strength. In a once famous speech at the Royal Alexandra Hotel in Winnipeg, Premier R. P. Roblin came out in opposition to direct legislation. With much North American hyperbole as well as good constitutional sense, Sir Rodmond denounced direct legislation as a denial of responsible government and "a form of degenerate republicanism." "Ours is the best form of government in the world and we intend to retain it."¹⁴

Later in 1912 the Manitoba *Free Press*, which had been commenting on direct legislation with increasing favour, largely by stressing its conservatism in operation, noted its standing in the West. Both parties in Alberta and Saskatchewan were committed to direct legislation. In Manitoba direct legislation was one of the most important planks in the platform of the Liberal party. But the Conservative party, in obedience to the impassioned denunciations of direct legislation by Sir Rodmond Roblin as a "device of degenerate republicanism" advocated by "inflammatory dema-

¹³The Manitoba *Free Press*, April 7, 1910. 4.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, April 12, 1912, 12.

gogues in order to pull the underpinning out from the British Empire, will have none of it."¹⁵

The debate over the constitutionality of direct legislation did not come to a head, however, until C. D. McPherson, Liberal member for Lakeside, brought a resolution before the legislature in January, 1914. This called for the introduction of direct legislation, and went on, "that more direct participation in the making of laws by the agency of direct legislation is in direct accord with British principles of government."¹⁶ In moving an amendment the Hon. Dr. Montague, minister of public works, asserted that only the Crown and the Assembly could legislate in Manitoba.¹⁷ T. H. Johnson, Liberal member for Winnipeg West, replied: "I favor direct legislation because it favors real self-government. It makes perfect representative government. It makes legislators servants of the people. This legislature ought at all times to serve the people. We propose to maintain and establish the rights of the people."¹⁸

The answering speech of E. L. Taylor, Conservative member for Gimli, touched the political core of the matter. "Direct legislation was favored by the crank, the faddist, who thought himself the people. But under such a system as ours, government must take account of all the forces that play upon it, and represent all classes."¹⁹ But, S. H. Green rejoined for the Liberals, the argument that representatives must at all times exercise their own judgment is vitiated by the rigidity of the party system. T. C. Norris, Liberal leader, claimed that direct legislation was not only constitutional but would have the great practical value of eliminating the evil of patronage. But this, Premier Roblin retorted, is a British, not an American country. "There was no analogy between the United States and Canada, unless Mr. Norris was in favor of the republican form of government."²⁰ With this Roblin-esque barb the debate closed. The *Free Press*, properly remarking on its high standard, added, "A government rightly desirous of governing properly should welcome direct legislation, as protecting it against the importunities and threats of powerful minorities. Take the question of compulsory education for example."²¹ This was a leading issue of the day, and the Roblin government was being subjected to great pressure to resist the introduction of compulsory attendance.

Though the government had the better argument, the Liberals

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Nov 16, 1912, 4.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1914, 1.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 20.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1914, 11.

included direct legislation in their platform in 1914, and asserted it was "in harmony with true democracy and British constitutional government."²² After the fall of the Roblin government in 1915 and the return of the Liberals to power in the election of that year, direct legislation was enacted unanimously in the legislature of Manitoba in the Initiative and Referendum Act. John Williams declared that "the bill established the fact that the source of power lay in the common people and that no one ruled by divine right." F. J. Dixon thought it "by far the best bill ever brought into a legislative assembly,"²³ a phrase which recalled T. H. Johnson's declaration of 1910 that direct legislation was "the Magna Carta of modern times."

The enthusiasm of the legislative chamber, however, evaporated in the council room, and it was thought advisable to clear doubts as to the constitutionality of the Act by a reference to the Appeal Court of Manitoba. Judgment was delivered in December, 1916, the court unanimously holding that the Act was *ultra vires* of the provincial legislature. In this decision it was to be upheld in 1919 by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.²⁴

Legally the question was one of the extent of the power of the legislature to amend the provincial constitution under section 92 of the British North America Act, in that the Act affected the powers of the lieutenant-governor. Politically it was a question of the source of sovereignty in Canada. On this point His Honour A. E. Richards, J.A., spoke clearly.

The people have never held the sovereign power in the United Kingdom. It was originally wholly vested in the King; and, while it has gradually departed from the King, except in form, it has in fact been taken over by Parliament, who now exercise the real sovereignty.

In Canada there is no sovereignty in the people. So far as we are concerned it is in the Parliament at Westminster, and our powers to legislate are such, and only such, as that Parliament has given us.²⁵

"This may be the law, but it is not the fact," commented the *Free Press*.²⁶ This is the voice of North American democracy, never too much impressed by legal niceties. Here too was a recurring and obscure conflict of Canadian politics, the clash of popular assumptions of an electorate profoundly democratic, with formalities of a constitution derived from that of the United Kingdom. In the Court of Appeal the Declaration of Independence and the

²²*Ibid.*, March 30, 1914, 11.

²³*Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1916, 1 and 4.

²⁴E. R. Cameron, *The Canadian Constitution* (II, Toronto, 1930), 142-51.

²⁵*Manitoba Law Reports*, XXVII, "In re Initiative and Referendum Act," 13.

²⁶The *Manitoba Free Press*, Dec. 21, 1916, 13.

tradition of Westminster, sovereignty of the people and sovereignty of Parliament, had confronted one another.

Given real necessity, no doubt the constitution could have been adapted to the working of direct legislation. It would, however, have involved great formal changes. The Crown as part of the legislature, the cabinet as the executive government collectively responsible to, and individually part of, the legislature, with, for example, its power of initiation of money bills, presented grave obstacles to the introduction of the initiative and the mandatory referendum into the constitution of Manitoba. "... it is abundantly clear that the Cabinet system cannot be driven in double harness with any form of the initiative and referendum, except to its hurt and detriment, if not to its ultimate confounding."²⁷ Responsible government and direct democracy are hardly to be reconciled without destroying the initiative and responsibility of the former.

To such a feeble ending, after the sweeping claims by its advocates, did direct legislation come in the prairie provinces. Only in Alberta did it survive on the statute book. The check administered in Manitoba in 1916, however, need not have destroyed the movement. That died away because interest was diverted to other remedies. The farmers, under the stimulus of the high cost of living, conscription, dissatisfaction with the fiscal policy of the Union government, and the abolition of the Wheat Board, turned to the more traditional way of protest, to that which had been advocated unavailingly for more than a decade, a third, agrarian, radical and "progressive" party.

W. L. MORTON

The University of Manitoba.

²⁷R. MacG. Dawson, *Constitutional Issues in Canada, 1900-1931* (Toronto, 1933), 58.

GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY, AND RELATED SUBJECTS

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW presents herewith its eighteenth annual list of graduate theses which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. Included in the list are titles not only in Canadian history but also in such related subjects as Canada's imperial and external relations, Canadian economics, law, and geography, and a selection of historical titles which bear indirectly rather than directly on Canadian history.

We wish to express our appreciation of the generous co-operation which we have received from over a hundred universities throughout the British Commonwealth, the United States, and Canada, in the compilation of this information. We shall be very grateful to have mistakes or omissions drawn to our attention.

Theses for the Doctor's Degree

- Sister AGNES of Rome, M.A. Boston College 1942. The social thought of French Canada as reflected in the *Semaines sociales*. *Catholic*.
- ROSEMARY LORNA ANDERSON, B.A. Toronto 1937; A.M. Columbia 1940. American expansionism in Canadian-American relations. *Columbia*.
- MAURICE WHITMAN ARMSTRONG, B.A. Dalhousie 1925; M.A. 1927; B.D. Pine Hill 1930; S.T.M. Harvard 1941. The great awakening in Nova Scotia. *Harvard*.
- G. F. BUTLER, B.A. Dalhousie 1932; M.A. 1934. Commercial relations between the United States and the Maritime Provinces. *Toronto*.
- JAMES M. S. CARELESS, B.A. Toronto 1940; A.M. Harvard 1941. George Brown and the Toronto *Globe*. *Harvard*.
- CATHERINE L. CLEVERDON, A.B. Vassar 1929; A.M. Columbia 1930. The woman suffrage movement in Canada. *Columbia*.
- LEO FISHMAN, A.B. New York 1937; A.M. 1938. British war-time controls of selected non-ferrous metals, 1939-41. *New York*.
- VERNON CLIFFORD FOWKE, B.A. Saskatchewan 1928; M.A. 1929. Governmental aid to Canadian agriculture: An historical introduction. *Washington*.
- ESTHER FRUMHARTZ, B.A. Toronto 1937; M.A. 1938. Political aspects of the Canadian tariff, 1867-1911. *Toronto*.
- GEORGE B. GARDINER, Jr., Ph.B. Vermont 1937; A.M. Harvard 1940. North American government: A study of Canadian-American relations during World War II. *Harvard*.
- LILLIAN F. GATES, B.A. British Columbia 1924; A.M. Clark 1926; A.M. Radcliffe 1930. Canadian land policy, 1837-67. *Radcliffe*.
- Mrs. SHIRLEY SAUL GORDON, B.A. Toronto 1930; M.A. 1936. Canadian public opinion on the Dominion's external relations. *Toronto*.
- ERNEST C. GOULD, B.A. Toronto 1933; M.A. 1934. The Canadian and Maritime approach to Confederation: A study in contrasts. *Toronto*.
- G. H. E. GREEN, B.A. British Columbia 1929; M.A. 1938; B.Paed. Toronto 1937; D.Paed. 1944. The development of the curriculum in the secondary schools of British Columbia, including academic, commercial, technical, industrial arts, and correspondence courses. *Toronto*.
- LOUIS HALPERN, B.S. in S.S. City College of New York 1941; A.M. New York 1942. British war finance, 1939-41: A comparative analysis. *New York*.
- WILLIAM A. HANCE, A.B. Columbia 1938; M.S. 1941. Population problems of Quebec Province. *Columbia*.
- H. B. L. HUGHES, B.A. Oxford 1921; M.A. 1934; D.Litt. Pisa 1928; Ph.D. Toronto 1944. Christian missionary societies in the British West Indies during the emancipation era. *Toronto*.

- WILLARD E. IRELAND, B.A. British Columbia 1933; M.A. Toronto 1935. British Columbia and British-American union. *Toronto*.
- L. B. JACK, B.A. British Columbia 1932; M.A. 1935; B.A. Oxford 1935; Ph.D. McGill 1943. Control of municipal finance in three federal countries: Canada, the United States, and Australia. *McGill*.
- ROBERT JAPP, M.A. St. Andrews 1927; M.A. (Hons.) 1928; M.A. McGill 1930. A critical estimate of Ryerson's influence on the separate school issue under the Union, with particular reference to the place the school question has in the failure of the Union as a scheme of government. *McGill*.
- ANDREW D. LOCKHART, B.A. Queen's 1930; M.A. 1931. Macdonald and the policy of the Conservative party. *Toronto*.
- T. R. MILLMAN, B.A. Toronto 1931; M.A. 1933; B.D. 1938; Ph.D. McGill 1943. Jacob Mountain, first lord bishop of Quebec, 1793-1825: A study in church and state. *McGill*.
- ANDREW MOORE, B.A. Manitoba 1920; B.Sc. 1921; LL.B. 1927; Ph.D. Toronto 1944. Educational administration in Manitoba with special reference to the statutes and regulations concerned. *Toronto*.
- W. O. MULLIGAN, B.A. Manitoba 1913; LL.B. 1916; B.D. 1917; D.D. (Hon.) Presbyterian College of Montreal 1938; M.A. Dalhousie 1941. The public career of Sir Charles Bagot. *McGill*.
- LESTER H. PHILLIPS, A.B. Olivet (Mich.) 1931; M.A. Michigan 1936. The impact of the Defence of Canada regulations upon civil liberties. *Michigan*.
- ELMER PLISCHKE, B. Phil. Marquette 1937; M.A. American 1938; Ph.D. Clark 1943. Jurisdiction in the polar regions: A study of the juridical principles governing the original acquisition of polar territory in the Arctic with special reference to the sector principle. *Clark*.
- ELDON P. RAY, B.A. Dalhousie 1932; M.A. 1933. Nova Scotia, 1840-64. *Toronto*.
- J. LEWIS ROBINSON, B.A. Western Ontario 1940; M.A. Syracuse 1942. The Canadian Eastern Arctic. *Clark*.
- GEORGE EDWARD SHANKEL, B.A. Walla Walla 1920; M.A. Washington 1933. Political aspects of the development of Indian policy in British Columbia. *Washington*.
- ALICE ROSE STEWART, B.A. Maine 1937; A.M. Radcliffe 1938. The imperial policy of Sir John A. Macdonald, first prime minister of Canada. *Radcliffe*.
- LEWIS G. THOMAS, B.A. Alberta 1934; M.A. 1935. Political and economic history of Alberta, 1905-21. *Harvard*.
- LEWIS HERBERT THOMAS, B.A. Saskatchewan 1939; M.A. 1941. Territorial institutions in Canada. *Minnesota*.
- N. M. WARD, B.A. McMaster 1941; M.A. Toronto 1943. The development of government activity in Nova Scotia. *Toronto*.
- CLAYTON R. WATTS, B.A. Western Reserve 1932; M.A. Drew 1932. Sociological study of Mennonites in Perth and Waterloo Counties, Canada. *Washington University*.
- LEONARD WEISS, A.B. Chicago 1939; A.M. Fletcher 1940. Transition problems arising out of current Canadian-American economic relations. *Fletcher*.
- CHILTON WILLIAMSON, B.A. Columbia 1938; M.A. 1939. The Champlain Valley, satellite of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1830. *Columbia*.
- IDELE WILSON, B.A. British Columbia 1931; M.A. Clark 1932. History of trade unionism in the mass production industries in Canada. *Toronto*.

Theses for the Master's Degree

- Sister ANNA JOSEPH (Mary Genevieve Hennessey), B.A. New Brunswick 1942. The history and culture of the Indians of New Brunswick. *New Brunswick*.
- G. ARCHAMBAULT, B.A. Montréal 1941; L.S.C. 1944. La Puissance du mouvement coopératif. *Montréal*.
- ROSS G. BABION, B.A. Queen's 1944. Alexander Morris. *Queen's*.
- MARION BANKS, B.A. Toronto 1934. The Isle of Orleans, Quebec. *Clark*.
- R. BARRIÈRE, L.S.C. Montréal 1944. L'Élevage du mouton dans la province de Québec. *Montréal*.
- R. N. BEATTIE, B.A. British Columbia 1939. British investment in British North America, 1857-70. *Toronto*.
- R. BEAUDOIN, B.A. Laval 1941; L.S.C. Montréal 1944. Monographie comptable du Collège de Ste-Anne de la Pocatière. *Montréal*.
- A. BERGEVIN, B.A. Montréal 1941; L.S.C. 1944. L'Industrie de la brique dans la province de Québec. *Montréal*.

- Sister BERNADETTE (Catherine Alberta O'Hara), B.A. New Brunswick 1940. The decline and fall of the Huron people. *New Brunswick*.
- G. BILLETTE, B.A. Montréal 1941; L.S.C. 1944. Valleyfield, site d'industries. *Montréal*.
- FLORIAN BLEAU, B.A. Montréal 1941; L.S.C. 1944. Production canadienne de la fibre de lin au XXe siècle. *Montréal*.
- J. BRAIS, L.S.C. Montréal 1944. Monographie comptable d'une municipalité de village. *Montréal*.
- P. BROUSSEAU, B.A. Montreal 1941; L.S.C. 1944. Organisation et administration d'une succursale de banque. *Montréal*.
- G. BRUNET, L.S.C. Montréal 1944. La Colombie: Son commerce extérieur et ses relations commerciales avec le Canada. *Montréal*.
- R. CARON, B.A. Montréal 1941; L.S.C. 1944. Les Ports concurrents de Montréal sur le St-Laurent. *Montréal*.
- M. CAZAVAN, L.S.C. Montréal 1944. La Comité paritaire: Son organisation, son fonctionnement etc. *Montréal*.
- R. CHARTRAND, M.A. Ottawa 1944. Post-war immigration. *Ottawa*.
- R. CHOQUETTE, M.A. Ottawa 1944. Milk subsidy in Canada. *Ottawa*.
- G. DESCHAMPS, L.S.C. Montréal 1944. L'Elevage du vison au Canada et plus particulièrement dans la province de Québec. *Montréal*.
- O. DESCHAMPS, L.S.C. Montréal 1944. Monographie de la municipalité de Ste-Anne de Bellevue. *Montréal*.
- J. DESMARAIS, B.A. Montréal 1941; L.S.C. 1944. Marché mondial et canadien de la graine de lin. *Montréal*.
- E.-C. DESORMEAUX, M.A. Ottawa 1944. L'Assurance-chômage au Canada. *Ottawa*.
- W. DESROSIERS, B.A. Montréal 1941; L.S.C. 1944. Monographie rurale de la paroisse de St-Denis sur Richelieu. *Montréal*.
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- GERTRUDE M. FATT, B.A. Toronto 1935. The Canadian High Commissionership under Galt and Tupper. *Toronto*.
- FRANCES A. FIRTH, B.A. New Brunswick 1943. The ideology and institutions of higher education in New Brunswick. *New Brunswick*.
- J. J. FORTIN, B.A. Montréal 1941; L.S.C. 1944. La Coopérative, facteur de relèvement économique de la campagne dans Québec. *Montréal*.
- L. L. FOX, B.Com. Queen's 1941; M.Com. McGill 1943. Prices and wages in Canada since the beginning of the second world war. *McGill*.
- AIMÉ GALARNEAU, L.S.C. Montréal 1944. La Lutte contre l'inflation au Canada durant la guerre actuelle. *Montréal*.
- G. GALIPEAU, L.S.C. Montréal 1944. Coopérative de consommation: Organisation, administration, comptabilité. *Montréal*.
- M. GAUDRY, L.S.C. Montréal 1944. Les différents Types d'assureurs-incendie au Canada. *Montréal*.
- FREDERICK W. GIBSON, B.A. Queen's 1942; M.A. 1944. The Alaskan boundary dispute. *Queen's*.
- ROSALYND GOLD, B.A. McGill 1939; M.A. 1942. Occupational selection and adjustment in the Jewish group in Montreal—with special reference to the medical profession. *McGill*.
- W. R. GRAHAM, B.A. Manitoba 1941. The Alexander Mackenzie administration, 1873-8. *Toronto*.
- Mrs. J. C. S. GRIMSHAW, B.A. Toronto 1940. Unionism in the Canadian automobile industry. *Toronto*.
- F. GUERETTE, B.A. Laval 1941; L.S.C. Montréal 1944. Monographie d'une municipalité rurale (Causapsal). *Montréal*.
- S. R. L. HARDING, B.A. Saskatchewan 1942; M.A. McGill 1943. The geology of the Lower Lorraine in the vicinity of Montreal. *McGill*.
- MARION H. HARRIOT, B.A. Manitoba 1939. Thomas Greenway. *Toronto*.
- ROSE HELPER, B.A. Toronto 1928. Social disorganization in relation to the Yukon gold rush. *Toronto*.
- JACK HUGHES, B.A. Alberta 1933. A history of mining in the East Kootenay. *Alberta*.

- F. ISABELLE, M.A. Ottawa 1944. L'assurance-chômage. *Ottawa*.
- JAMES ARTHUR JACKSON, B.A. Manitoba 1940. The disallowance of railway legislation in Manitoba, 1881-8. *Manitoba*.
- J. LABELLE, B.A. Montréal 1941; L.S.C. 1944. Monographie comptable d'une fabrique d'alcools industriels. *Montréal*.
- G. LAFLECHE, M.A. Ottawa 1944. La Femme et la guerre. *Ottawa*.
- F. LAFLEUR, M.A. Ottawa 1944. Bibliothèque merveilleux agent social. *Ottawa*.
- P. E. LALONDE, B.A. Ottawa 1941; L.S.C. Montréal 1944. Les Relations commerciales entre le Canada et le Mexique. *Montréal*.
- G. LANGLOIS, M.A. Ottawa 1944. Le Type social du Canadien français. *Ottawa*.
- D. LANOIX, M.A. Ottawa 1944. La Femme dans l'industrie canadienne. *Ottawa*.
- L. LAUZIER, B.A. Laval 1941; L.S.C. Montréal 1944. La Coopération et la libre-concurrence. *Montréal*.
- J. LEBEL, B.A. Laval 1941; L.S.C. Montréal 1944. Monographie économique de Matane. *Montréal*.
- M. LEMONDE, B.A. Montréal 1941; L.S.C. 1944. Monographie de la coopérative de conserves de St-Jean Baptiste de Rouville. *Montréal*.
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REVIEW ARTICLES

CANADA AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS¹

PUBLICATIONS to be noticed in this annual article are of wide variety and more numerous than in earlier war years. Strictly historical items are few. Writers are chiefly concerned with the present and the future, and therefore tend to look at the past principally as the background of current problems. Controversy moves on. There is less concern over the question of the Commonwealth's, or Empire's, proposed liquidation, which no longer seems contemplated in reputable quarters. There is more attention to questions of how to shape future relations so as best to promote welfare and liberty among all peoples while preserving security, and more thought on problems of how to shoulder responsibilities without sacrificing freedom.

The second volume of J. A. Williamson's *A Short History of British Expansion* appears now in a third edition, revised and enlarged in the light of recent scholarship and today's larger interest in the later phases of the Empire's evolution. A new edition of Volume I is also in prospect. For the serious general reader as well as the student this work remains standard. *The British Commonwealth of Nations: Its Territories and Constitutions*, by A. Berriedale Keith, is available both as a pamphlet (reviewed in C.H.R., XXII, Sept., 1941, 304) and in *British Life and Thought: An Illustrated Survey*, a volume which contains a series of comparable popular treatments by experts on various aspects of British life. Here and there these touch matters of direct imperial concern. They should also as a whole help the reader outside Britain to bring himself up to date on many phases of its present-day life that are indirectly of moment to peoples elsewhere, especially but not only in the Commonwealth, whose present security and hope for the future are linked with those of Britain.

The British Commonwealth at War, edited by W. Y. Elliott and H. Duncan Hall, is the most ambitious work yet to appear on its subject. In general it deals with little more than the first two years of war. Some of the chapters were contributed in 1941, but all have been brought down to the spring of 1942 and in some instances to a later date; one example is the section on "India and the War" which is extended to October in an appendix of excerpts from speeches and documents on the political crisis. In addition to separate sections on each of the Dominions and India (three in the case of Canada, on political development, economic policy, and Canadian war administration) there are sections also on British war administration, British war economy, and Britain's overseas trade. These all follow a long initial section by Mr. Duncan Hall on the "British Commonwealth of Nations in War and Peace," which combines an account of the structure of the Commonwealth and the impact of the war upon it with a penetrating exploration of its foundations in the realm of "psychological bonds and governing ideas." Notwithstanding the inevitable unevenness of a co-operative study made so close to the events with which it deals, the volume will be very useful both to students and to publicists concerned with knowing

¹This is the fifteenth annual article published by the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW on this subject. For the bibliography of this article see p. 308.

at some length how the Commonwealth has faced the problems of the war and what the war has been doing to the Commonwealth.

One of the chapters of the Empire's achievement in war which came to its close in the past year is sure to be retold many times. *The Unconquered Isle: The Story of Malta, G.C.*, by Ian Hay, is a vivid story of the island's history, half of it devoted to its most illustrious episode, the third siege. The numerous full-page illustrations from photographs supplement a text which, despite its brevity, is well attuned to its great theme.

Empire in the Changing World is a "Penguin Special" (English title—*Argument of Empire*) by Professor W. K. Hancock. Readers of his *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs* (C.H.R., XVIII, Sept., 1937, 322; XXII, Sept., 1941, 302; XXIII, Sept., 1942, 321) are aware of his formidable knowledge, but will here discover a hardly less impressive skill in clear summarization and vigorous popular presentation. In the course of discussing various aspects and problems of the Commonwealth and Empire, he presents numerous significant data, but they are all material to his argument. In his *Survey* he was inclined to stress weaknesses which he wanted to see remedied. Here also he is frank about weaknesses, but he is as much concerned with making clear the constructive hopes which the Commonwealth holds for the future as in pointing out desirable directions of growth. He considers that the past generation has thought of the progress of the dependent empire too much in constitutional terms and not enough in terms of economic and social welfare. Newer trends rightly emphasize the latter. Constitutional developments should of course move also toward larger freedom, but probably in more varied ways than we have usually assumed. He wants a world-wide combination of power behind the peace. The British Commonwealth "cannot achieve its own program of welfare, freedom and peace except as part of an international program. No more can the international program make much headway in our time unless the British Empire is strong and progressive and working for its fulfillment." The prospect that Americans as well as Britishers would read this book did not lead the author to put on an apologetic air but rather to employ a frankness of utterance inescapably clear to the former no less than to the latter. His example in this regard is commendable. Understanding among those who should be intimates has been too much sought in these last years by some Canadians by methods that can only be characterized as disingenuous and obfuscatory.

Mr. Lionel Curtis in *Faith and Works* further develops and modifies the proposals put forward in his earlier pamphlets, *Decision and Action* (C.H.R., XXIV, Sept., 1943, 286-7). He also here states the convictions that inspired his plans and how the latter were reached. His whole argument rests on the postulate "that the duty of each man to his fellow men is the basis of human society." This is a matter of faith and cannot be proved; its test is in works. Force is a necessary instrument of conscience. Sovereignty, which determines the instruments and the methods of its use, rests fundamentally not in governments but in the commonwealth of citizens. But national sovereignties mean anarchy in the use of force among the nations. For prevention of war and for social reform, the two closely connected objects set forth in the Atlantic Charter, there must therefore be a transition from national sovereignties to an international sovereignty. This need not at first be world-wide; "once an international government has been realized, the successive inclusion of nations

outside it will be merely a question of time." National governments should become stronger "for the tasks of social reforms," and we need "an international government strong enough to remove the fear of impending war." Its powers should be "limited to defence, foreign policy, colonies, [international] civil aviation, and effective means of making the cost of these services a first charge on the nations united."

Mr. Curtis now amends his former proposal to the effect that "the government responsible for defence must have power in war, and even when war seriously threatens, to control industry and indeed anything which is needed for effective defence." To be a government in the real sense of that word the international authority must "draw its authority direct from the citizens composing those nations" which support it. The hope of launching such an international authority is limited, he believes, to a combination of the United Kingdom, one or more Dominions, and one or more of the democracies of Western Europe. He does not see such a move as an attempt on the part of the United Kingdom to dominate. He would have the latter share controls as well as responsibility with its partners in the experiment, although he recognizes that the British public requires education to that end. This pamphlet was apparently written in the latter part of 1942, certainly none of it later than early 1943 (it was first published in April, 1943). One wonders whether more recent events, making increasingly obvious the great part in any successful security system to be played in the immediate future by the United States and Russia, might not at some points have modified Mr. Curtis's argument. At any rate the trends as evidenced in the Moscow and Teheran Declarations, and apparently in the Dumbarton Oaks conversations on a security system which are in progress as this review is written, have been along a different line, which rests on an acceptance of the practical difficulties in the way of establishing the principles of an international sovereignty. Hope for success rests rather on the ideal of a continuing sense of partnership in dealing with a problem that will still be acute and continuous for each of the partners and insoluble except by their continued association.

The difficulties in the way of a pooling of sovereignties even within the British Commonwealth at the present time are admitted by most recent writers. In arguing about how to ensure a continuing effective partnership among the nations of the Commonwealth after the stresses of war have ceased, advocates of a more centralized organization have generally been careful to insist that they did not purpose any diminution of the sovereign powers of the Dominions but would leave the final determination of their policy and action in their own hands. In recent controversies over centralization its opponents have habitually insisted, on the other hand, that proposals of centralizing tendency really involved that very thing. This is no place to chronicle the controversy over this issue which reached its peak during the last year. But a number of books, pamphlets, and articles may be mentioned which indicate and illustrate its course.

First among these should be mentioned *The British Commonwealth: Its Place in the Service of the World*, by Sir Edward Grigg. The author was private secretary to Mr. Lloyd George following the War of 1914-18. He has been Governor of Kenya and has held a number of important posts in the British government. His book is exceedingly well-informed and thoughtful. Whether or not one agrees with its thesis, its challenge must be faced. The

author believes that there is need for a common system of foreign policy and defence for the whole Empire. He expressly abjures, however, centralization of authority. He would leave the sovereignty of the Dominions untouched, and he does not seem ready, like Mr. Curtis, to have Britain share with them the control of United Kingdom policy. He recognizes that Europe and the Mediterranean must be of special concern to the United Kingdom. He talks, indeed, of the Imperial Conference giving Britain a "power of attorney" in securing a European settlement.

Besides having primary responsibility in Europe, Britain must also be the connecting link among all parts of the Empire, the handling of whose affairs should be in a measure regionalized. In other words, in each great region local members of the Empire of whatever sort, together with the United Kingdom, should be represented in a regional conference comparable on a smaller scale to the Imperial Conference. Like the latter it would be consultative and advisory. It is assumed "that Britain, with due regard for her traditional responsibilities, will modify the central hegemony and henceforth serve rather as a uniting factor, not only between the different regions of the Empire, but also between the peoples of each region in their different stages of development." The existence of regional councils in the Commonwealth would not preclude but supplement regional councils of an international character such as seem likely to develop. In harmony with such regional developments he would substitute for the Secretaries of State for India and for the Colonies, Secretaries for Asia and for Africa, the West Indies being coupled with the latter. He would also merge the Foreign Office and the Dominions Office so as to ensure that foreign affairs should always be handled in Great Britain in fullest co-ordination with relations among the partner nations of the Commonwealth, as is already the case in each of the Dominions through its Department of External Affairs.

In seeing to it that the next period of peace shall bring abiding security to the democracies he believes that "the heaviest responsibilities will rest upon the Democracies of the British Commonwealth, because they have proved to themselves and to others how much they can do when they work together and how mortal the risk they run when they neglect that common duty." It is essential that the United Nations should continue to work together, but it is to be remembered "that a solid British Empire was the nucleus round which those nations have now cohered, and that there would have been no such union against the Axis Powers if British union had not borne and survived the brunt of the most dangerous period alone." Along with co-operation for security he believes that it is also essential to preserve the principle of imperial preferences exempt from the operation of the most-favoured-nation principle. As members of a united family each of the Commonwealth nations can continue a genuinely independent state, but "as separate units they cannot but sink to the level of weak and dependent states." The prospects for realistic and effective co-operation among the United Nations in building security are more promising today than when Sir Edward Grigg wrote his book. Yet all but the most recalcitrant isolationists must admit that it is still essential for the members of the British Commonwealth to count positively for security. Differences of view relate to means rather than to the end.

It is difficult for this reviewer to see how some of the proposals of Sir

Edward Grigg would in practice be consistent with the minimum position upon which the Dominions and indeed Britain herself are sure to insist, or how they could be realized without arousing dangerous antagonisms abroad. For example, if ultimate discretion is to rest with the national governments and parliaments as he grants that it must, how is the Imperial Conference going to give a "power of attorney" beforehand to any member? On the other hand a good many of his proposals might be adopted with advantage. It is certain, at any rate, that we shall not find a satisfactory alternative to "centralization" in do-nothingness. We have to work out ways of continuing in peace as in war practices of prompt consultation and effective co-ordination of policies and collaboration of effort. That these must be in support of a United Nations structure and in no sense antagonistic to it goes without question. As the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth put it in their declaration at the end of their conference in May of this year, their nations were "enabled" by their "system of free association . . . each and all, to claim a full share of the common burden," and they added: "we believe that when the war is won and peace returns, this same free association, this inherent unity of purpose, will make us able to do further service to mankind."

A speech by Lord Halifax at Toronto, January 24, 1944, was a high spot in public discussion of the place of the Commonwealth in the international picture. Lord Halifax's view, which he expressed in very general terms, stressed the importance of the Commonwealth counting as a unit among the Great Powers through agreement "on vital issues . . . not by a single voice, but by the unison of many." Although, like Sir Edward, he was careful to reject any idea of infringement upon the sovereign independence of the Dominions, his address, like Sir Edward's book, was widely interpreted as supporting the sort of centralized machinery which would, in fact, mean centralized authority even though avowedly intended only to facilitate consultation and co-operation. This address, along with articles by representatives of countries composing the British Commonwealth, and a speech by Mr. Mackenzie King of January 31, 1944, commenting on Lord Halifax's utterance, was published in *International Conciliation*, March, 1944. In the *Round Table* for the same month, an article, "Canada: The Future of the British Commonwealth," dealt with the question at issue in this controversy by opposing both centralization and disintegration. The author of the article argued that we must not let the issue become a choice between extremes. When that happened in the first British Empire the result was dismemberment, the worst possible solution. Canada's historic middle way offered the solution for "the establishment of effective co-operative action within the Commonwealth looking toward the creation of an effective world order based on the principle of international collaboration." That this sort of view was shared by the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth when they met in conference in May, 1944, was evident in their public utterances, notably in Mr. Mackenzie King's address to both Houses of the British Parliament on May 11, in which he voiced their common views. This was conveniently published in *International Conciliation*, June, 1944.

Among other articles that appeared during the year relevant to this problem special mention might be made of Professor Alexander Brady's "Dominion Nationalism and the Commonwealth" and Professor Chester Martin's "The British Commonwealth." The attitudes of the several Dominions on Common-

wealth relations and international prospects are described and analysed, with citation of the views of political leaders and others in *The Dominions Look to the Future* by Gwendolen M. Carter (*Foreign Policy Reports*, Dec. 1, 1943).

The question of Commonwealth relations was involved in the discussion of post-war problems at the annual study conference of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs at Hamilton in May, 1943, and at a study conference of the western branches of the same organization at Saskatoon in October. These confidential discussions are in part reflected in reports by Professor W. L. Morton entitled respectively *Canada and the World Tomorrow* and *Building Post-war Canada*. More significant because more broadly representative of Canadian opinion, and lasting eight days rather than two or three, was a conference held at Montebello in December, 1943. Participants were not confined to members of the Institute although the latter organized the Conference. The last day and a half were devoted to a discussion of Canada's place in the Commonwealth and Commonwealth relations generally in their wider international setting. A large measure of agreement was evident on broad questions of principle. A general unwillingness to move toward centralized Commonwealth authority was matched by a general desire for a continued close co-operation. Existing machinery of consultation was described fully, its extent and its usefulness surprising many members of the Conference. The final chapter of *Canada and the Building of Peace*, by Grant Dexter, reports this discussion in some detail. The other chapters deal usefully with a variety of matters discussed at the Conference, that on Newfoundland most directly concerning the theme of this article. The book is an expansion, on the basis of conference discussions, of a data paper distributed beforehand to members of the Conference. Though simple and popular in presentation, the number of "Canadian Affairs" for April 1, 1944, devoted to a discussion of *Canada and the Post-war World*, by L. B. Pearson, deserves mention here, because of its author's standing in Canada's diplomatic service, as an indication of the direction of Canadian thinking about the permanent values of Canada's membership in the Commonwealth and the non-exclusive nature of that partnership in relation to any world association.

The part of the Commonwealth in the war, the nature of the Commonwealth, and the relationships among its members are discussed by R. G. Trotter in a "Behind the Headlines" pamphlet entitled *Commonwealth: Pattern for Peace?*, which concludes with the text of the Declaration of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers of May 17, 1944. The course and nature of the controversy over centralization are sketched and the conclusion reached that an authoritative common voice is not practicable but that the middle way holds promise for the future if responsibilities are faced rather than evaded as they were in the years between the wars. The same author discusses problems of the peace from the point of view of the Commonwealth in a lecture contributed to a series of lectures on *Patterns of the Coming Peace* delivered on the Fenton Foundation at the University of Buffalo in the spring term, 1943, and published in September in the "University of Buffalo Studies."

Mr. Arnold Haskell, author of *The Australians* (C.H.R., XXIV, Sept., 1943, 293), discusses the necessity of wider knowledge and better understanding among the nations of the Commonwealth in *The Dominions: Partnership or Rift? The Danger Stated and the Answer*. He is particularly concerned over

the need of better understanding in Britain itself. "We want," he says, "what the Dominions already have, an Empire state of mind." He argues for the immediate "setting aside of two periods a week throughout the academic year for the study of Empire history and geography"; adult education must be the next stage, not as a mere palliative, but as a matter of systematic education.

To the never-more-important task of making the British Empire better understood by Americans and the United States by British people, Mr. Maurice Colbourne has contributed a popular discussion, *America and Britain: A Mutual Introduction with Special Reference to the British Empire*. An Englishman who has been much in the United States during many years in following his career in the theatre, the author obviously has first-hand knowledge of the kind of questions that Americans need answered about the Empire. Since the war began, he has done much speaking about the United States in Britain and collected some hundreds of questions there about the United States, many of which he lists and answers seriatim. The book will be especially informative to British readers concerning the United States and American attitudes. The author is concerned to point out and explain differences. He also makes clear that in some matters differences are more apparent than real. For example both powers have dependent empires, however prone the Americans may be to hide the fact from themselves by such devices as calling their counterpart of the British Colonial Office the Division of Territories and Island Possessions in the Department of the Interior. *Co-operation For What? United States and British Commonwealth*, is an I.P.R. pamphlet by F. R. Scott describing in simple terms the Commonwealth as it is today and appealing persuasively for American understanding and for United States-Commonwealth unity in leadership to build a better order through the United Nations. It does not argue for an exclusive English-speaking association, but recognizes that if the United States and the Commonwealth fail to pull together, there is little hope either for security or welfare in the world at large. A summary treatment of Newfoundland by S. A. Saunders and Eleanor Back in a "Behind the Headlines" pamphlet, *Newfoundland: Sentinel of the St. Lawrence*, brings up to date in brief form a consideration of the prospects of Newfoundland, which is of such peculiar importance today in the set-up of the Empire and in relation to the Anglo-American-Canadian triangle in the North Atlantic.

Sir Reginald Coupland's *Report on the Constitutional Problem in India*, in three parts: *The Indian Problem, 1833-1935*; *Indian Politics, 1936-1942*; and *The Future of India*, is invaluable for the student who would understand the current Indian problem in its setting. The advance already made and the difficulties still to be surmounted, difficulties which are particularly great in connection with the setting up of a central government for an independent India, are surveyed comprehensively. The author points out that upon achieving full Dominion status India will be free to choose whether to remain within the Commonwealth or to secede, but that for security and for economic development policy at the centre will need to be "governed to some extent by international undertakings." Many Indians hope with the British people that continued Commonwealth partnership will satisfy India. To the author "it seems probable that a free India will wait and see how that partnership works in practice before making her final choice." There are convenient summaries of all three parts, totalling seventeen closely printed pages, which the student will welcome.

Mr. T. A. Raman has now done *Report on India*, embodying some material which appeared in his *India* (C.H.R., XXIV, Sept., 1943, 288), but amplifying his treatment and bringing the discussion of problems and prospects more up to date, most notably with regard to India's contribution to the war. "Those who made that contribution will have done so even if the political problem has not meantime been solved, despite all embitterment and agitation, but in the certain faith that in the post-war world India will undeniably take her rightful place in the comity of nations." In *What Does Gandhi Want?*, the same writer explores the attitude of Gandhi to the war, giving many extracts from his writings, chiefly in the weekly *Harijan*. The conclusion reached is that what "Gandhi wants is independence to be non-violent, to avoid participation in the war, to stop the war if possible, to resist the Japanese if necessary, but with only non-violent methods." Since the basis of any political settlement must be "that India will identify herself completely with the United Nations . . . there never was a possibility of any political settlement during the war which Gandhi could have whole-heartedly accepted." Finally the author believes that "Indians who want their country to be free and *therefore* are determined that this war shall be won must reconcile themselves to a final break with Gandhian perversions of their country's policies during the war." The Indian rejection of the offer of self-government by the Cripps Mission in 1942 is deplored by Mr. Rajagopalachari, who, having broken at the time with the Congress Party, is still working for a solution. In *The Way Out: A Plea for Constructive Thought on the Present Political Situation in India*, he argues for abandonment of "the barren mood of negation" and for acceptance of the reiterated offer of the British government.

India in Outline, by Lady Hartog, is an historical and descriptive account, variously and extensively illustrated, which provides a straightforward introduction to the subject. The war effort and political development of recent years are sketched with clarity and sympathy. The author hopes to see India take her place in a free association of the free peoples of the world and in friendship and collaboration with Britain. The same hope is credited to the British as well as Indian peoples in a much briefer introduction, *Twentieth Century India*, by Kate Mitchell and Kumar Goshal, a pamphlet issued under the joint auspices of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Webster Publishing Company. The pamphlet is better balanced than one would infer from some of the questions appended for discussion. For example, to state that more than six per cent of the population of Canada is in uniform in the present war and then to ask: "if loyalty to Britain had been equally cultivated in India how large an army would India have contributed?" suggests a naïveté with regard to the implications of geography and demography and history hardly to be expected in authors professing to speak with some authority on so complicated a theme as India. More objective and thorough in its analysis of the present situation in India and intended for more discriminating readers than the pamphlet just mentioned is *The Problem of India's Future*, by Edith A. Trotter of the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It is encouraging to find such an organization through its weekly "Information Service" distributing material of this type.

This group of items on India may be concluded with mention of a brilliant

work of research scholarship dealing with an earlier era. In *The Making of the Indian Princes*, Mr. Edward Thompson studies the events of the twenty years from 1799 to 1819 when the place of the princes in relation to the paramount British power was shaped. The author has had opportunities of extensive study in India and the aid of Indian scholars. The point of view with which he deals with his subject recognizes the greatness of Indian as well as British leaders. The importance of the States in India today gives a timely interest to this authoritative study of a formative period of their moulding.

British Economic Interests in the Far East, by E. M. Gull, prepared as a report in the International Research Series of the Institute of Pacific Relations, deals mainly with interests outside the territories of the empire, but there is sufficient concerning the place of Hongkong and Malaya in those interests and Australia's relations to them to warrant mentioning the book here. The system is studied closely from its beginnings more than a century ago to its collapse in the face of Japanese advance. It is not likely to be reconstructed in its old form. National and international regulation will play a part, and policy is likely to emphasize living standards rather than power, and equilibrium rather than balances, "which cannot be 'favourable' for long without being harmful for longer."

The British Colonial Empire, by Noel Sabine, is one of a series, "The British Commonwealth in Pictures." Its eight plates in colour are mostly reproduced from prints of the early nineteenth century; its twenty-five illustrations in black and white are from old prints and from photographs of the present day. The text, on the other hand, while touching on historical origins and the development of policy, is mainly concerned with the present Colonial Empire, its territories, their administration and problems, and their contribution to the war. It is an attractive booklet, and for its size informative. A somewhat more detailed account of *The British Pacific Islands* is given by Sir Harry Luke in an "Oxford Pamphlet on World Affairs." Margery Perham's pamphlet on *The Colonies*, containing also a leading article from *The Times* on "The Colonial Future," stresses the challenge of the disasters of 1942 to overcome obstacles and "achieve a new and more intimate and generous relationship" with the peoples of the Colonial Empire.

In *Our Imperial Future*, one of a series of "Signpost Booklets" sponsored by a committee of British Conservatives, the Honourable W. W. Astor, M.P., discusses with knowledge and a sense of responsibility the recent trends in colonial policy and administration, especially in the British Colonial Empire, and offers constructive suggestions for forwarding the interests of the colonial populations by direct British measures, and by regional advisory councils both within the Empire and in collaboration with other nations. *Downing Street and the Colonies*, a report issued by the Fabian Colonial Bureau in 1942 and reprinted in 1943, is a useful survey of the Colonial Office and the Colonial Services, their history and organization, with various proposals for improving the system and making Parliament's responsibility for it more effective. For example, the appointment is urged of a Standing Committee on Colonial Affairs from both Houses of Parliament.

Lord Hailey's *Britain and Her Dependencies*, a "Longmans Pamphlet on the British Commonwealth," is an informative and thoughtful discussion of problems of the improvement of living standards, the development of the social

services, plural communities, and political development, with a brief comment on schemes for international control. The last topic he deals with more at length in *The Future of Colonial Peoples*, lectures delivered at Princeton University in February, 1943. He examines the nature and background of present colonial systems and discusses the international interest in the future of colonial dependencies. As compared with an international body or the extension of the mandatory system he prefers the setting up of regional councils or commissions comprising representatives of "the colonial administrations directly concerned" and "any other sovereign powers possessing definite interests in the zone affected." These would be consultative and advisory bodies with their own technical advisors, "whose services would also be available to the administrations concerned." Among the functions of such committees would be the periodical review of "progress made in self-governing institutions, and in social and economic advance." *The Report of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission . . . for the Years 1942-1943* gives an encouraging view of the possibilities of usefulness for such a regional commission. Other interested powers have already been brought into unofficial relations with its work.

International Action and the Colonies, a Report of a Committee of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, reviews past forms of international action and recent discussion, including a summary of Lord Hailey's proposal for regional councils which he presented at the Mont Tremblant Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations (see C.H.R., XXIV, Sept., 1943, 289) and the statement to which it gave rise. The principles on which regional councils should rest are discussed, and their proper constitution and functions, without dogmatism and with a welcome to the new spirit of collaboration, but with a warning that public opinion must "remain alive to the latent dangers of a misdirected regionalism." Among other recent informative and thought-provoking Reports of the same Bureau are *Hunger and Health in the Colonies* and *Kenya: White Man's Country?*

The problem of race relations is indubitably to be a major test of the capacity of the United Nations to move toward the goals they have professed. In *Colour Conflict: Race Relations in Africa*, Mr. Gerald Broomfield holds that "whatever may have been the case in the past, it is in Africa now that the problem is most acute and its solution most urgent." He admits that it has been suggested to him "that pride of place in this respect should be given to the United States of America" but evades that issue by adding, "I must confine my attention to what is known as the British Empire." Writing at the request of the United Council for Missionary Education in consultation with the Conference of Missionary Societies, he has been able to draw on the extensive acquaintance of the latter with all the African territories of which he writes, but he has also drawn widely from other authorities. He makes important use of Lord Hailey's *African Survey* issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1938 (see C.H.R., XX, Sept., 1939, 304).

While recognizing the beneficent and progressive aspects of British policy, Mr. Broomfield is primarily concerned with drawing attention to present imperfections "in order to strengthen the hands of those whose business it is to put them right." He therefore gives a compact but specific and critical account of the present situation with regard to such questions as land, taxation, pass laws, labour conditions and wages, social relationships, and segregation, and discusses the implications of trusteeship in the handling of these matters.

In many respects the situation varies greatly in different areas. Progress in opening careers to educated natives has been greatest in West Africa, where, for example, in 1942, Africans were appointed to the Executive Councils of Nigeria and the Gold Coast. "The rest of Africa has something to learn from Zanzibar," where, although the European, Arab, Indian, and African communities in the main live separate social lives, there is no colour bar. "Zanzibar is showing the possibility of peace and mutual respect between the races. Perhaps it will be good for our souls to remember that it is doing so because an Arab Sultan is at the head of the State."

Difficulties are naturally greatest in those areas suitable for white settlement, that is in Kenya, the Rhodesias North and South, and the Union of South Africa. In the Union the proportion of Europeans is much greater than elsewhere, and most of the black population moved there from the north while white settlement was getting established and spreading from the south. Nevertheless in matters of employment and wages Mr. Broomfield finds that "it is in South Africa that the need for improvement is becoming most widely recognized." He also finds that the Union leads in provision of social services for the natives. He agrees with Field-Marshal Smuts that trusteeship must grow into something that is essentially partnership, and is encouraged by the change of heart that is shown by some leaders in South Africa and in Rhodesia in this matter, partly as a result of the failure of segregation to meet the situation adequately.

If such developments can come fast enough and move far enough, chances will be improved for a regional grouping extending from South Africa to the tropical colonies such as is increasingly mooted. South Africans are ambitious for it, and many problems are common to all sections. It is the pre-eminence of race relations among these problems that offers the principal obstacle at present, for the British Colonial Office is committed to a policy of opposition to the colour bar and will therefore be unwilling to turn over colonial Africa to the domination of white South Africa while the latter holds to its present racial policy. Indeed the adoption of segregation by the Union lessened the likelihood of even the native protectorates in South Africa being turned over to the Union.

Yet the ubiquity of the race problem emphasizes the desirability of a continental policy; and its fundamental importance demands that it be faced. To appreciate the problem requires understanding of South Africa as well as other areas. The year has produced several books on the Union and its leaders that deserve notice here.

In *Here Are South Africans*, Julian Mockford is not interested in discussing current issues or retailing a political chronicle. His theme is the growth of a people from the beginnings of settlement, "the pageantry of its past," as Deney's Reitz calls it in his foreword. The over-riding fact to the author is that Boer and Briton have shared the development of South Africa. Any long-range point of difference was fundamentally "between country and town, frontier and capital, backveld and city." Yet "the delusion that the Boer and the British were not working together but were working against one another grew till it became the chief South African obsession." The Jameson Raid and its attendant events transformed "what was essentially a country-versus-town game into a Boer-versus-British tragedy." While the difference still persists in some ways, it is a much milder phase of what has always been really "a family quarrel." The partnership-plus-conflict of Boer and Briton has given

South Africa much of its distinctive colour, which Mr. Mockford catches in a warm and vivid light. This book stands well beside Arnold Haskell's *The Australians* (C.H.R., XXIV, Sept., 1943, 293), with which it is uniform. *The Union of South Africa*, by Lewis Sowden, is another popularly written book. It emphasizes the period since the Union and especially South Africa's relation to the war, when the dependence of the Empire and the United Nations upon the Cape route has made the Union's policy and conduct of prime importance, and when the war has brought to South Africa itself a new era with new lines of development and new concepts. For example: the progressive transition from "the glittering industries" of diamonds and gold to "more prosaic and bread-and-butter activities, such as agriculture, base-metal mining and industries," already in progress before the war, has been in some ways hastened and in some ways complicated by the circumstances of these war years. Among the conspicuous leaders whose personalities and careers Mr. Sowden presents, none, quite properly, receives so much attention as the present Prime Minister, Field-Marshal Smuts, under whose leadership "liberal English and liberal Afrikaner have come together as never before." Mr. Sowden knows his South Africa, and his book will interest the student as well as the general reader, but its lack of an index will inconvenience both.

This war has made South Africans think of their North as never before. The Pan-African idea, as Mr. Sowden points out, has long been a hope of the Prime Minister. In *Jan Smuts: A Biography*, by F. S. Crafford, we have the most up-to-date study of the man who more than any other South African has moulded his own country's destiny and who at the same time has been a world-influence. It is the first biography of Smuts by an Afrikaans-speaking writer. The author has enjoyed the advantage of intimate discussion with many friends and colleagues, as well as adversaries, of Smuts. He has used newspapers as well as books extensively. The result, as Louis Esselen, a long-time associate of Smuts, remarks in a foreword, "casts a true reflection on events." The apparent inconsistencies of a career that swung from belligerent Afrikaner nationalism to British imperialism, finding reconciliation of the two in the Commonwealth, becomes consistent in the light of Smuts's holistic philosophy, which development the author also traces. It is a book worth reading if one would watch with due appreciation the unfolding career and still developing influence of one of the most intelligent and rightly distinguished leaders in the United Nations. There should also be a wide public for the selected speeches of Field-Marshal Smuts, now published in an American edition under the title *Toward a Better World*. These speeches date from May, 1917, when the new Smuts conception of a British Commonwealth of Nations was first put forward in speaking to the members of the British Lords and Commons. The speeches deal mostly with the Commonwealth and with South African problems, some with science and philosophy, and the more recent with the war. One wishes that in adding to this edition several speeches of later date than May, 1941, at which the English edition ends (*Plans for a Better World*, C.H.R., XXIV, Sept., 1943, 293), there had been included the address given to the South African Institute of Race Relations at Capetown in January, 1942, on "The Basis of Trusteeship in African Native Policy." Though it was published in the Institute's series of "New Africa Pamphlets" (C.H.R., XXIV, Sept., 1943, 292), it will not be seen by most readers of this book. It supple-

ments and in important respects modifies, as the result of experience, the views on native policy set forth in other speeches in this volume. An informative and understanding sketch of Smuts's career has been provided as an introduction by Henry M. Moolman, Director of Information of the South African Legation in Washington, and Eric Estorick.

Critics of Smuts used to call him "Rhodes redivivus." The epithet is apt. Despite the break that the Jameson Raid made between the two men, their dreams, in the long view, were largely one: a united and self-governing South African nation, secure within a fellowship of British nations, and taking a northward lead in the development of Africa. The late Sir James G. McDonald, who was close to Rhodes in his later years, supplemented his earlier *Rhodes: A Life* (1927) by a volume that had gone to press shortly before his death by enemy action at sea. In *Rhodes: A Heritage*, the emphasis is on Rhodes's ideals and the constructive side of his work and of his legacy for South Africa and the larger world. The author believes that federation, which was Rhodes's first dream for South Africa, would have been wiser than the closer union that was actually formed. He thinks that "The Federated States of Africa are in sight," and is optimistic that the union of English-speaking peoples which Rhodes visualized "has become, in these days of stress, not a possibility but a probability." The author's first-hand knowledge of much that is significant, and, he it also said, his devotion to the memory of Rhodes, gives this book its own special importance among the memorials of its subject.

On South African controversy over status a significant item is *Empire Unity: With a Brief Account of the Objects and Work of the Dominion Party of South Africa*, by C. W. A. Coulter. He argues that secession from the Commonwealth and the setting up of a republic by unilateral action as advocated by extreme nationalists in South Africa would be not legitimate but revolutionary. He tells how the decision of the Union Cabinet in 1938 for neutrality, which was communicated to the Chamberlain government, hamstrung the latter in the Munich negotiations because it nullified the value of the Cape route. Hertzog's attempt at secession a year later split his Cabinet and was defeated by a narrow margin in Parliament, though the next election, in 1943, gave a large majority for his opponents. Mr. Coulter quotes at length from official pronouncements in developing his account of the history of the status issue in South Africa. He argues not only for the continued unity of the Empire but for common action among its members and with the United Nations in defence and furtherance of the four freedoms.

Pacific Partner, by George H. Johnston, is an explanation of Australia to Americans by an Australian newspaper writer who had already been a correspondent on more than one fighting front before he came to America on leave and saw the need for such a book. It is racy and contemporary, enthusiastic over Australian-American co-operation, and hopeful for the four freedoms in an international post-war world. *Australia and the Pacific*, by members of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, is a collection of the data papers that were prepared by members of study groups in the Melbourne, Sydney, and Canberra branches of the Institute for circulation to the members of the Mont Tremblant Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations which met in December, 1942. They discuss diverse political and economic problems facing Australia with a realism appropriate to Australia's ordeal of that year. Pro-

fessor Bailey's paper on "Australia's Membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations, as Affecting Her Post-war Role among the United Nations in the Far East" appropriately stands first. The papers deserve the wider circulation now afforded them. "The Progress of Historical Studies in Australia," by Herbert Heaton, is an article reviewing the growth of historical scholarship in that country, besides discussing with special knowledge a considerable number of recent works and the subjects with which they deal.

New Zealand's first Minister to the United States, Mr. Walter Nash, has done much in his public speaking and his personal contacts to explain to Americans his own country and its part in the war and the British Commonwealth. He has also held high the ideals of freedom and welfare for the post-war world. His *New Zealand: A Working Democracy* will carry these messages to a wider audience with the enthusiasm and vigour characteristic of the author. His own career is sketched in the introduction by Eric Estorick. Devoting larger attention to the country itself, its history and its people, is *Understanding New Zealand*, by Professor F. L. W. Wood of Victoria University College at Wellington. It is informed as well as readable and is generously and helpfully illustrated.

In the "Longmans' Pamphlets on the British Commonwealth," besides Lord Hailey's noticed above, there are two admirable new numbers, *Britain and New Zealand* by W. P. Morrell and *Britain and Canada* by Gerald S. Graham. Both are suggestive and stimulating in their interpretation as well as competent in putting much history in small compass. Another "Oxford Pamphlet on World Affairs" that usefully concerns the Empire is *An Atlas of the British Empire* by Jasper H. Stemberge.

Relations among the nations of the Commonwealth are so intimately associated with those of other nations that much discussion concerned primarily with the latter is significant for full understanding of the former. Readers are therefore referred to "Canada and Foreign Affairs: A Review of the Recent Literature," by Miss Gwendolen M. Carter in the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* for June. The lists of works on "The Relations of Canada Within the Empire" included in "Recent Publications Relating to Canada" in each number of this *REVIEW* should also be consulted for articles not here mentioned. Further current material may be traced through the bibliographies in many of the works discussed. To attempt a comprehensive list of such items here would extend this article inordinately.

A Select List of Books Relating to the History of the British Commonwealth and Empire Overseas, by W. P. Morrell, has been published as an "Historical Association Pamphlet." Its discriminating selection and comments make it a most helpful guide. The Royal Empire Society has added to its published bibliographies an *Annotated Bibliography of Recent Publications on Africa, South of the Sahara, with Special Reference to Administrative, Political, Economic, and Sociological Problems*, and *Best Books on the British Empire: A Bibliographical Guide for Students*, both by Evans Lewin.

October, 1943, saw the launching of a new monthly periodical, *Empire Digest*, containing brief articles on a wide range of topics, some of them summaries of articles appearing elsewhere but many written expressly for this publication. Frequently these are by authors who speak with authority as, for example, when Mr. T. A. Raman writes on "India of To-day" (October, 1943),

Sir Frank Stockdale on "The British Colonies in the Caribbean Area" (April, 1944), Professor Morrell on "New Zealand's Imperial and Foreign Policies" (February, 1944), or when Mr. R. L. Harry of the Australian Department of External Affairs writes on "The Machinery of Empire Collaboration" (December, 1943) to correct popular misapprehension of Mr. Curtin's proposals for facilitating discussion among the governments of the Commonwealth and to make it clear that the Australian premier did not mean thereby to derogate at all from Australia's right of final decision on Australian policy. This Digest is well designed to popularize information and spread understanding concerning the Commonwealth and Empire.

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RECENT BOOKS ON THE UNITED STATES¹

THE task of this review is to describe and comment upon fifteen recently published volumes in American history. It is impossible to draw any general conclusions from such a varied assortment except that they vary tremendously in quality. Like any historical examiner the reviewer has handed out several A's, a number of B's, and even an occasional C minus.

Two of the volumes are of significance as an indication of a revival of American interest in constitutional history. Charles Beard's *The Republic* consists of a series of socratic dialogues between Beard and a number of imaginary characters on the nature and development of American government. The American constitution provides the framework for the discussions. Thus the first ten chapters consider the nature and underlying philosophy of American government in a series of discussions based on the preamble to the constitution. In chapters X-XII are discussed the rights of the citizen in the United States and in chapters XIII-XVII the powers of the various elements, the President, Congress, etc., in the American system of government. The volume closes with a critique of the federal system and a series of chapters on special topics: the role of parties, the role of government in economics, and so forth. Professor Beard's work shows great wisdom and a rare insight into the underlying philosophy and the workings of the American system of government. He has considered not only the original intentions of the "fathers" but the manner in which the constitution has since evolved. His opening chapter, which shows the evolution in the meaning attached to "We the people," is typical of his method throughout the work.

American Constitutional Development, by Professor Carl Brent Swisher, is a more orthodox and less philosophic work than Beard's. It is a careful, scholarly, very detailed but lucid account of the development of American government from the drafting of the constitution to the present. In the opinion of this reviewer, Professor Swisher pays insufficient attention to the influence of the English political tradition, particularly the influence of English common law upon American development. However the work does provide a balanced and dispassionate account of constitutional history after the colonial period. Of particular value is Professor Swisher's very detailed account of the evolution of the constitution by judicial review, particularly with reference to the control of corporations. Considerable attention is also devoted to the topic, very apropos at the moment, of civil liberties in war-time.

Of the two volumes in the economic field, one is a history and the other might be classified as within the area of prophecy, but prophecy based upon a consideration of the facts. A. C. Bining's *The Rise of American Economic Life*

¹For the bibliography of this article see p. 314.

is a reasonably adequate text, simply and clearly written and particularly useful in its detailed description of technological processes. The author devotes more attention than the usual economic historian to the political background: the colonization of British North America, the American Revolution and so forth. In fact Professor Bining appears to be essentially an historian rather than an economist. His volume consists in mere description of economic processes without any attempt at economic analysis from the viewpoint of theory. The nature of W. A. Brown's *The Future Economic Policy of the United States* is indicated by the title. Mr. Brown considers a number of the problems with which the United States will be forced to deal after the war: how to reconcile the demand for security with the desire for continued free enterprise, how to reconcile international economic co-operation with the insistence on full employment. The author predicts the necessity of a number of unpalatable policies, such as the maintenance of controls, to facilitate the transition from a war-time to a peace-time economy. Mr. Brown makes several points of interest to the historian, such as the extent to which Americans had accepted infringement upon free enterprise even before the New Deal.

Three volumes come within the field of "popular" history. Of these the best is *The Story of the Americas*, by Leland Baldwin; a general account of the exploration, conquest, and settlement of the Americas, with more emphasis on South and Central than on North America. Mr. Baldwin shuns the style and apparatus of the scholar and writes with a certain racy ease. But the volume has a fine sweep to it. The author is more concerned with the movements of peoples than with political history. The adoption of the American constitution and the Civil War each rate only half a page. As is inevitable in a general and semi-popular work the author turns some sharp corners, such as the assertion on page 626 that Canadian Confederation was solely the result of American annexationism. However, the main outlines of the work are sound and it should serve its purpose in attracting the general reader. Ralph H. Gabriel's *Main Currents in American History* was prepared for the educational programme of the American Second Army. No doubt it is an excellent volume for the purpose for which it was written, and it is scarcely fair to judge it from the viewpoint of the professional historian. The work is written at about the grade seven level. It does work in a good deal of modern research but is oversimplified and characterized at times by a suggestion of fervent nationalism which is in contrast to the fine dispassionateness of modern American historians as a group. *The American People: A Popular History of the United States, 1865-1941*, by Walter S. Hayward and Dorothy Adams Hamilton is a very popular work indeed, which includes dramatized history, romantic descriptions of American scenery, and so forth. Most of the important trends in modern American history are at least touched on; but the pills are well coated with sugar. The dramatic account of the Pearl Harbor incident is typical of the volume which appears to be written for the general reader with a meagre historical background. The illustrations are good.

In striking contrast to the last two volumes is the only other general work in this review, *The United States: An Historical Sketch*, by E. A. Benians. This small volume is intended chiefly for British readers and consists of five essays covering the period from 1783 to the present. Professor Benians's conclusions are, for the most part, orthodox and those familiar with American

history will find no new material, although the work may clarify their thinking. The volume is a succinct and lucid account of American history. It is written with crispness, precision, and balance. It is, of course, an interpretative work but Professor Benians has a nice sense of the use of facts and demonstrates an impressive ability to sum up the findings of previous research by scholars, in regard to a given problem, in a few meaty phrases.

Two volumes are concerned with the history of the American frontier. *The Persistence of the Westward Movement and Other Essays* is a collection of articles formerly published in various periodicals by the late Professor John C. Parish. They are concerned chiefly with the western expansion of the United States. Of greatest significance are the first two which consider Turner's "frontier" thesis. Parish agreed in the main with Turner but insisted that Turner's views had been too narrowly interpreted by some of his disciples. The core of Parish's argument is contained in the statement (p. 2) that "the westward movement in its larger sense . . . did not cease in 1890 but has been a persistent factor in our national life, which still tends to distinguish the American people from the people of European nations." Of a very different type is Mrs. Irene D. Paden's *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner*. This is a detailed and careful account of a series of expeditions covering nine years in which Mrs. Paden and her husband, Dr. William G. Paden, traced the old "Oregon Trail" from Independence, Missouri, to Oregon. The book is a combination of travelogue and history. Mrs. Paden recounts conversations of herself and associates, various incidents on the trip, and personal impressions of the various landmarks; but she has done valuable work in tracing the route in detail. Her travels have been supplemented by considerable documentary research and the volume contains a wealth of interesting material about the problems, methods, experiences, and difficulties of the early immigrants. Mrs. Paden does not employ footnotes but appends an exhaustive bibliography.

The other volumes in this review do not fit into the above-mentioned groups and will be considered separately. One of the best of these is John C. Miller's *Origins of the American Revolution*. This is a careful account of the period leading to the American Revolution and is drawn chiefly from contemporary works. Professor Miller's conclusions are for the most part orthodox; although, quite properly, in considering the revolutionary party, he places more emphasis than some of his predecessors on the differences in attitude and activity between the radicals and the Whig merchants. Both combined eventually against Great Britain; but the merchants were really carried in by the radicals. Professor Miller tells his story interestingly and with a wealth of vivid detail. The chapters on the American and British minds "on the eve" are particularly illuminating.

The Foundations of American Civilization, by Max Savelle, is an excellent general account of the rise of the British North American colonies. Professor Savelle devotes considerable attention to the English and European background of the Colonists and to their place in the British imperial system. He emphasizes the economic, social, religious, and intellectual development of the colonies as well as their political evolution. More space is devoted to the West Indies than in other similar works. The volume is a lucid, reasonably full, and well-balanced text.

W. E. Binkley's *American Political Parties* is a competent but run-of-the-mill history of American political parties. The author provides such information as who ran for office, who was elected, and what was his performance while in office. The volume does not contain much analysis of the nature or basic support of the parties; but concentrates rather on the devices which have been used by American political leaders to secure election.

History of Bigotry in the United States, by Gustavus Myers, the author of the well-known *History of the Great American Fortunes*, is a straightforward, highly-detailed, and carefully-documented account of bigotry, chiefly religious, in the United States. The volume begins in the colonial period and traces the story all the way from early religious prejudices down to modern anti-Semitism and the Lindbergh movement. No effort is made at a philosophic analysis of the phenomenon and no morals are drawn from it. The author is inclined to place a good deal of blame upon England for the beginnings of bigotry in the United States. Thus, in true Yankee fashion, he minimizes the bigotry of the Puritans and emphasizes that of Laud and the Church of England.

The final volume in this review, by Allan Nevins and Louis M. Hacker, *The United States and Its Place in World Affairs, 1918-1943*, is a composite work and includes chapters by Herbert Heaton, A. L. Burt, Nathaniel Pepper, as well as by the editors and a number of others. Not only does this volume describe American foreign policy during the period but it integrates it with general international relations. The first half of the book consists of a competent and detailed account of the world background to American foreign policy under such headings as "Democracy and Revolutionary Ideologies," "Europe's Descent into International Anarchy," "International Rivalries in the Far East." The latter half of the volume traces the final crisis leading up to the present war, with particular reference to American foreign policy. The book does about as thorough a job as is possible in the field of current history. Not possessing access to confidential official material, private papers etc., the authors have had to depend on the type of material which any well-informed student of world affairs can obtain. The result is a competent synthesis but not one which will tell the informed reader anything which he did not already know.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

RECENT VIEWS ON HISTORY

- The Christian Philosophy of History.* By SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1943. Pp. 221. (\$2.00)
History and Its Neighbours. By EDWARD MASLIN HULME. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 197. (\$3.25)
Fourscore Years: An Autobiography. By G. G. COULTON. Cambridge: At the University Press [Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1943. Pp. viii, 378. (\$7.00)

THESE three books represent, with a curious aptitude, the three approaches to History most characteristic of our day. There is first, following the gigantic achievement of historical research and writing and the triumph of an historical point of view in the nineteenth century, the attempt at a synthesis of the whole historical process. Next, there is the definition of the methods to be adopted by the researcher and would-be historian as practised in so many of our graduate schools of History today. And, finally, there is the record of the making of the individual historian described by himself, example filling out and at times prevailing over precept.

I

Dean Case is a Canadian born, a former Dean of the Divinity School in the University of Chicago, and widely known for his theological writings. He is concerned—as who is not?—with the threat to our civilization today, and turns to History, not least to the History of Christianity, for enlightenment and guidance. He first surveys what he terms the Providential View of History, founded on the belief that God makes History, from its origins in Hebrew history, through the early Christian era, to its accommodation in the Roman Empire. It found its chronological pattern in Eusebius, and when disaster came in the fifth century, a way out with St. Augustine and the City of God. This, with variations, was the view that prevailed through the centuries that followed. It was given a new synthesis by St. Thomas Aquinas, was differently interpreted by the Romanists and Protestants after the Reformation, and has been revived in our own day by the Neo-Thomists.

With the nineteenth century, however, there emerged or rather became dominant a more purely Human View of History. It possessed an insatiable appetite for the collection of historical facts, and an all pervading spirit of criticism (which invaded even the domain of Christian thought). It sought for the principles of historical causation, grappled with the problem of Progress, and made attempts at a Philosophy of History. But in our own day have come doubts as to the unity and continuity of the historical process, and indeed as to the value of History as a guide to the present and the future. The crisis of our age has seen a partial revival of Providential History and a consequent dualism between that and Human History. The "cult of crisis" is set against the "cult of progress." Thus the despairing philosophy of Kierkegaard "consigned history to the cosmic rubbish heap." To Karl Barth Christianity is inaccessibly remote from human affairs. There is the eschatological escape of Berdyaev, and the more metaphysical interpretation of exiles such as Tillich,

together with "milder forms of historical dualism" by other contemporary writers. All these, the writer points out (p. 118) provide a "mechanism of escape from the stern realities of human existence," but one "not available to those who feel compelled to face historical reality."

This task Dean Case faces in the remaining chapters of his book. History is complex, but it is also a continuous stream. We seek to understand it by giving it a pattern, even to the extent of building a philosophy of history out of our selection of facts (as Spengler). But that is not enough. Man is responsible for his future, he does in fact change or transcend Nature, he possesses spiritual freedom, and a yearning for larger knowledge. Here his Christian religion is a help, for as Christianity has changed in the past, so it will change in the future, notwithstanding such crises as the present one.

History today is related to this in the following way. The two main streams of Christian thought about God were provided by the Hebrews and the Greeks, the Hebrew anthropomorphic, in which God was closer to man, the Greek philosophic, with God more remote "from the operations of the daily historical process." And although "scientific" History may not find God in either anthropomorphic imagery or in metaphysical speculation, the sharpness of the inevitable conflict between traditional theology and modern science is over. If modern science has "given the historian an orderly universe," within it "one may feel the presence of the living God," inspiring man's struggle for the betterment of mankind. Evidence abounds for the spread of moral and spiritual interests over the earth during the past two thousand years, and this is sufficiently indicative of greater gains in the future to "insure the legitimate optimism of the Christian philosophy of History."

To the lay historian, no doubt the survey of present tendencies described in the chapter on "The Revival of Historical Dualism" (chap. iv) will be of most immediate interest. But Dean Case presents his whole argument with such moderation and clarity, combined with wide knowledge and understanding, that the whole essay will appeal to all serious students of history, whatever may be their attitude to ultimate values and the problem of the ways of God to man.

II

Professor Hulme's volume is concerned with more mundane objectives. It is now over fifty years since Bernheim produced his famous *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, and nearly that since Langlois and Seignobos followed with their briefer, but no less valuable *Introduction aux études historiques*. In England, partly because of the more empirical temper, and in part perhaps because the tradition of the "grand manner" of the non-professional historians from Gibbon through Macaulay still lingers, they have been more shy of formulating rules for the writing of History. But in the United States, where the direct German example has been stronger, quite a number of books on historical method have appeared, from those of Fling and Vincent to the more recent ones of Allen Johnson, Allan Nevins, and now Hulme. No doubt the appearance of some of these has been encouraged by the growth of the allied (and partly rival) social studies or sciences, and the desirability of clarifying the relation of the study of History thereto; and this is in part the object of Professor Hulme's book.

Thus the volume is divided into two parts, the first on the nature and study or writing of History, the second on the neighbours of History. The first part, after an introductory chapter on "What is History?," follows the beaten path in discussing the materials of which history is made, the methods of research, the criticism of documents, the arrangement, interpretation, and presentation of the results. It is all done briefly, straightforwardly, and clearly, French rather than German in its ancestry, one feels. The process is happily illumined by example and precept culled from a wide knowledge and mature observation, and with a minimum of notes and references. Indeed there is not a single footnote to bog the reader's footsteps, though there are plenty of references in the text where these are required, as for example in the chapter on research. Of the many quotations which light these pages, we cannot refrain from quoting that from a letter of Carlyle (p. 100) explaining how he tried to keep his whole subject "simmering in the *living* mind"; for "only what you at last have *living* in your memory and heart is worth putting down to be printed; this alone has much chance to get into the living heart and memory of other men." It is a counsel for us all.

In his general view of History, Professor Hulme illustrates the reaction both from "pure" research for its own sake, and from the view that History is or ever could be a science. "History," he declares (p. 8), "is not primarily concerned with the past. It studies the past, of course, but always for the purpose of enlightening us with regard to the present and helping us to prepare for the future." This, for the present reviewer, goes too far. History is primarily concerned with the past, though since past and present are one it will generally enlighten us as to the present, and it should (but does not always), aid us in planning the future. But there remains a place for the search for accurate knowledge of the past for its own sake, granting that any past is inevitably viewed through the spectacles of today. "The appeal of History to us all," says G. M. Trevelyan in a sentence close to one quoted with approval by the author in another place, "is in the last analysis poetic." That would hardly apply, without explanation of the nature of poetry, to most historians today. On the other hand history concerned primarily with the present and the future is open to the danger of being written to serve a particular cause, "to give to party what was meant for mankind," with its pattern cut to that end. And of that kind of history Professor Hulme is rightly critical (pp. 86-8). "One reason why historians do not more often arrive at the truth is that frequently they do not want to. They prefer the interests of their party." No historian today, however remote his researches, can escape the impact of present events or some concern for the future; the danger is rather the other way, as it was when Thucydides witnessed the downfall of Athenian power, or Machiavelli the loss of Italian independence by foreign invasion. The latter drew conclusions from History which were to be of great influence in the future; but they were not always right. And it was the opinion of one of the ablest authorities for the sixteenth century, Preserved Smith, that, as between Machiavelli and the less pragmatic historian Guicciardini, the latter was "vastly superior as an historian." Professor Hulme himself quotes with approval Brunetière's definition of History as "the art of living in bygone centuries."

Most historians today will agree with the author in his conclusion (p. 12), that "to talk of history in any possible form as a science is a mere confusion

of words and thought," since the historian's "facts" are not directly observable but are charged with a subjective quality. He cannot experiment or repeat the phenomena of history, and man is an individual, and his actions often unpredictable. All of which, as Professor Hulme points out, does not imply that the historian should not be as scientific as possible in his methods of research and evaluation of material.

The second part of the book, on "The Neighbours of History," is a little disappointing. There are so many neighbours, twenty-nine in all, that the neighbourhood is rather crowded, and since they are all dealt with in sixty smallish pages the treatment of any one is necessarily rather brief. Nor is the order or arrangement clear. Ethnology and Ethnography, widely separated from Anthropology, find place between Ethics and Philosophy, Chronology lies between Literature and Sociology, Statistics between Logic and Palaeography. And while the matter on each of the neighbours is useful and interesting, there is no general discussion of the relation of History to these neighbours either as a whole or by groups such as that of the "social" sciences. Yet no doubt it is of importance for the future historian to realize how many other subjects he touches and his special relation thereto. It is for such historians in training that the book is in the first place designed, and to them, but not only to them, it may be warmly recommended.

III

Dr. Coulton's book completes our trilogy by giving us the record of the life of an individual historian. When completing the history of his own early life over a hundred years ago another octogenarian, Goethe, declared that such works should show the man in relation to his times, how he evolved therefrom a philosophy, and how he reproduced this general view in his own achievement. Not all autobiographies would bear to be measured by this standard, but it fits Dr. Coulton's volume remarkably well. For he first describes his growth from childhood upwards, then makes clear the evolution of his ideas about things in general, and finally recounts his specific contribution in his chosen field of medieval history.

This does not mean that the story is sharply divided in any way. The major part of it carries itself along, with unusual definiteness of memory, from the picture of family life in or near Lynn in north-west Norfolk in the late fifties of the last century, to school and a Cambridge college, through a turn toward a parson's career, and then away again, into the field of schoolmastering. There Dr. Coulton remained for over a score of years, with much hard work and modest remuneration, with varied experiences of boys and fellow masters, in one part of England and another, the whole making a useful picture of a part of the English educational scene in the generation before the last war. This school life was varied by travel in France and Italy, and longer residence in Germany. Evident through it all was the abiding love of natural beauty, the feeling for (and the power to retain in the memory) what was good in literature, the maintenance (and growth by feeding) of the scholar's desire to *know*, beyond the needs of teaching or the educated use of leisure. These same years and later saw also efforts toward the introduction into England of a scheme of national training on the Swiss plan.

Long before the end of this period the historian was in the making, was

indeed made. (Dr. Coulton is a little apt to refer to himself as a self-made or "amateur" historian. In a sense, all historians are self-made, more so in England perhaps where there is little formal instruction in the art of writing history. He *was* self-made, in the sense that he brought so much devotion, pertinacity, and effort to overcome the limitations of opportunity and stimulus inherent in schoolmastering. But he had his foundations in school and university, and, as his own account of Cambridge shows, it was not all loss to be outside the confines of a college in his maturing years. And in Dr. Coulton's skill in historical controversy, with both broadsword and rapier, there was nothing amateurish.) The general field—medieval history—had long been chosen, had so to speak chosen itself, by growing interest from early days. The methods of study were evolved and much material collected ere in his middle forties, now happily married, he began to write. He began with Salimbene's Chronicle (*From St. Francis to Dante*, 1906) and proceeded, as he puts it, "at unloading rapidly what had long been accumulating," in *Chaucer and his England* (1908), *A Medieval Garner* (1910) later reprinted as *Life in the Middle Ages*, and in *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation* (1918).

All this solid achievement, described in the closing chapters of the volume, brought recognition, and where it was most desired, in a return to Cambridge University (1911), and a steadily growing place there, and indeed elsewhere. It brought also controversy, dealt with in two chapters, one general, the other dealing with the "Extreme Case" of his long controversy with Cardinal Gasquet. In the former of these he defends himself vigorously against the charges that he confused the picture of medieval and more particularly of monastic life in England by casting his net too widely over diverse periods and countries; that he offended by judging; and that he gave "mere controversy" instead of fact. Of the first of these, and indeed the third, I am not competent to judge. Frank, as always, Dr. Coulton gives the references for criticism of him. With critics of the same Protestant faith it is the old problem of selection and emphasis rather than of actual fact; with Roman Catholic opponents it comes to "question de foi" in the end.

On the question of judgment and impartiality in general, historical opinion today would agree in part with what he has to say, for there has been of late a turn against the nineteenth-century view that the historian could, as Ranke claimed, see and depict things as they actually were, free of any temporal or subjective element. Ranke did in fact judge, and so do we all. And our successors will again re-judge some of our cases, and overthrow some of our verdicts. But not all, for there takes place a cumulative process in history whereby certain truths about the past are acknowledged as humanly final. And there are a number of sufficiently general permanent values which obtain, at all events within a civilization. These are easier to establish, however, in such fields as political or institutional history, more difficult to agree upon in matters of thought and ideas, above all in a thing which strikes so deep as religion. Dr. Coulton pins his faith on controversy as a means of arriving at accepted truth. But one may be allowed to wonder whether his own experience really fortifies that belief. And his final suggestion, that "the present plight of the civilized world" might have been avoided "if our official historians had taken ordinary scientific precautions in proper time," seems to weaken his argument and expose its limitations.

This trio of reviews began with a survey of a Christian philosophy of History. It may be brought to a conclusion, and the wheel brought round to its full circle, by quoting a few lines from the last page of Dr. Coulton's volume, the *summa* of his belief on the historical process as he looked back over a few more than the fourscore years claimed in his title. "Common-sense suggested to me from the first that *homo sapiens* is, on the whole, an improving animal, and History has seemed to confirm this probability more and more. There is no horror even in 1942, so I believe, which cannot be outmatched from the records of distant centuries. Man is not a fallen angel; the facts concordant with saner faith tell us that we have struggled painfully upwards, and exhort us to struggle still."

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The Arthur Papers: Being the Papers Mainly Confidential, Private and Demi-official of Sir George Arthur, K.C.H., Last Lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, in the Manuscript Collections of the Toronto Public Libraries. Edited by CHARLES R. SANDERSON. Part I. Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries and University of Toronto Press. 1943. Pp. 240. (\$1.00)

CHARLES R. SANDERSON, chief librarian of the Toronto Public Library, did historians a good turn when four years ago he persuaded his board to purchase that portion of the papers of Sir George Arthur relating to his term as lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, 1838-41. Mr. Sanderson and his board are now continuing the good work by beginning publication of the papers, and since it was not possible to print the whole collection at one time the very sensible idea has been adopted of printing the papers in instalments. The volume under review, the first portion to appear, contains 268 documents, about one-fifth of the whole. When completed the several instalments will amount to two bulky volumes. The preface and introduction will be delayed until several parts have been issued.

The papers of Sir George Arthur were acquired through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Those relating to Arthur's régime in Van Diemen's Land prior to his coming to Upper Canada have gone to Australia. The Canadian documents do not appear to have been utilized by any writer in the past and were indeed almost forgotten until they came to Mr. Sanderson's notice. Descendants apparently had little interest in the record of the former lieutenant-governor.

Sir George Arthur came to Upper Canada in a sadly troubled period. The uprisings in the province under Mackenzie and Duncombe had been quelled but extreme bitterness remained and the jails were filled with prisoners, many of whom were victims of malice on the part of political opponents. The governing group and those who supported them were blatantly loyal, the Reformers were discouraged and sullen. The times called for wisdom, understanding, and charity on the part of the representative of the Crown. Unfortunately Sir George's term of office began with what seemed to the Reformers an example of harsh administration of justice in his refusal of clemency to Samuel Lount and Peter Mathews. This episode is probably more generally remembered today than any other incident of his career in Canada. To the Reformers it appeared

that the harsh justice of a penal colony was being applied to a community of free citizens. There is evidence, however, that Arthur, even during his first two weeks in office, had considerably modified the punitive spirit which prevailed in the Executive Council, and had persuaded its members to extend pardons more widely than they had at first contemplated. A letter which he wrote to Sir John Colborne a week before the executions of Lount and Mathews bears this out. There is no indication, however, that he made any plea on behalf of the two men who went to the scaffold on April 12.

It will not be possible to pass in any final way upon Arthur's general character until more of his papers are printed. The editor has privately expressed the view that a considerable revision of present opinion will be in order. Arthur's advisors, fresh from a victory over the Reformers and riding high, were clearly of the opinion that they were living in the best of all possible worlds and that the existing state of things should not be disturbed. Reformers were not likely to get Arthur's ear. But the Rev. John Strachan must have been gratified by his attitude of support for all the claims of the Church of England. "I sincerely wish that the number of Rectories secured had been double 57," Arthur wrote to Colborne.

Most of the familiar figures of the period appear in the correspondence. Sir Francis Bond Head greets Arthur as he journeys from New York with the assurance that "the Province is as tranquill as any part of England." J. S. Macaulay, on the other hand, presents him with elaborate plans for fortifications to cost £290,000. The Rev. Egerton Ryerson sends copies of his publications and "earnestly prays" that the administration "may be crowned with the Divine Blessing." The Rev. John Strachan loses no time in urging the division of the Diocese of Quebec into two bishoprics of which he suggests that he should have one. Much correspondence relates to the alarms created by threats of armed invasion by Patriots gathered along the international boundary. R. B. Sullivan presents a 282-page memorandum on the state of the province. Several letters threatening death to Arthur indicate the bitterness of the period. James Buchanan from New York warns Arthur against the influence of the Family Compact and for his enlightenment lists the leading spirits in that group. Arthur greets Durham on his journey westward, warning him that there is "excitement" in the Niagara District and expressing the hope that if another outbreak cannot be averted it will at least be limited. And here he refers to one of his difficulties, "a numerous and very troublesomely disposed class of persons in this Province—Orangemen—who consider lenity of any kind under such circumstances to be an insult to their order."

"These Orangemen," he continues, "as a body are brave fellows, but they are under very bad direction—and although it cannot be attempted just now, I am resolved to clip the Wings of the Leaders of this Party as soon as it can be done prudently."

And so the pages run, scarcely one that has not something that illuminates the period. The last document printed is dated July 20, 1838, so that only four months of Arthur's term of office have yet been covered. One of the later documents is a letter from Marshall Spring Bidwell to Francis Hincks in which he says: "What an opportunity Lord Durham has to be honoured and beloved through all Succeeding Ages, what an opportunity to do good; to establish free institutions? but I confess my fears are much greater than my

hopes! If he allows Sir George Arthur to remain, there is an end, of course, to all reasonable grounds of hope." How did this letter come to be among Arthur's papers?

Succeeding portions of these important documents will be awaited with eagerness by all interested in this period of Canadian history. Editing, press-work, and paper of the instalment now presented deserve special commendation.

FRED LONDON

The University of Western Ontario.

The Unfortified Boundary: A Diary of the First Survey of the Canadian Boundary Line from St. Regis to the Lake of the Woods. By Major JOSEPH DELAFIELD. Edited, with an introduction, by ROBERT McELROY and THOMAS RIGGS. New York: Privately Printed. 1943. Pp. v, 490. (\$7.50)

MAJOR DELAFIELD was American Agent to the Commission appointed to determine the boundary between Canada and the United States in accordance with Articles VI and VII of the Treaty of Ghent. This Commission was charged with the task of establishing the frontier from the point at which the 45th parallel of latitude meets the St. Lawrence to the north-west corner of the Lake of the Woods. Although the difficulties which arose in the course of this extensive task created no such acute crises as those provoked by the controversies over Maine and Oregon, they were serious enough to prevent full agreement. In particular, a large stretch of territory at the western end of Lake Superior was left in dispute when the Commission dissolved, and was not settled until the Ashburton mission.

Though Delafield played an active and important part in this work, little light is thrown on his official activities by his private diary. The sub-title is in fact misleading, for there is almost no mention of the actual work of surveying the boundary, and none at all about the divisions within the Commission. It is a purely personal record of various things which interested Delafield in the course of his progress westward during the years when the Commission was at work. The story of the Commission itself, and of Delafield's work in connection with it, is dealt with—in a slightly repetitious fashion—in the introduction. The diary itself is concerned with things observed along the way.

It is thus composed of incidental observations by an intelligent man who spent his summers from 1817 to 1823 inclusive in travelling westward through the Great Lakes to the Lake of the Woods. There is little reference to his relations with his companions, and only occasional remarks on living conditions, though the weather is naturally a topic of frequent comment. A great deal of the author's interest is in topography and natural history, and particularly in the geology of each new district. He has occasional comments on the settlements along the way and the habits and customs of both settlers and Indians. He gives an interesting account of his trip by canoe from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, marked by one or two passing observations on the effect of the recent union between the fur companies. The result is a minor document which

casts little fresh light on the establishment of the boundary, but which has many details of contemporary observation that are useful and interesting to have available.

EDGAR MCINNIS

The University of Toronto.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. XI. The Territory of Michigan, 1820-1829. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents. 1943. Pp. x, 1372. (\$3.25)

THIS volume of original documents maintains the high standards of editorship that one expects of Dr. Carter. The arrangement of the material is identical with that in volume X (reviewed C.H.R., XXIV, Dec., 1943, 422-3). The index covers 127 pages.

There is much in these documents to remind one of the history of the "Old Thirteen" and of early Canada: long lists of official appointments and of electors; demands of settlers, which, if reasonable, were seldom refused; echoes of the difficulties of administering distant possessions; scathing criticism of the policy of making appointments without public approval and placing them beyond the reach of public responsibility; and of the judiciary as "extremely insufficient, alarmingly injurious and unjust"; strong disapproval of the practice which vested the three great powers of government in the hands of an irresponsible governor; petitions for and against the grant of a bi-cameral legislature, supported by the townsmen, traders, and officials, and opposed by the struggling settlers, predominantly of French descent, who though "highly valuable for their moral qualities, as honest, quiet, industrious citizens . . . are not yet fully conversant with the nature of our institutions." Chiefly engaged in the fur trade, few in number and poor in gear, they protested because of the backward state of the Territory, which exhibited, as the result of the War of 1812, "a frightful and melancholy picture of desolation and distress," and because the new system of government would be "neither in our interests nor our inclination for the present to enter into." Thus, early in its history, the settlers were divided, as in Canada after 1763, into those favouring a representative form of government and those who opposed it because of its cost.

As a compromise measure, a popularly-elected legislative council was created in 1823. In its first report to Congress, in August, 1824, it emphasized the problems created by the many isolated settlements with their ill-defined claims, and recommended, as absolutely essential to the peace of mind of the settlers, the adoption of a policy of township government, "demanded by local circumstances and the wishes of the people."

Canadians were not alone in seeking redress for losses sustained in the War of 1812. As late as 1826, the settlers of Michigan were demanding "due compensation" for loss of property "of a nature unheard of in the annals of modern warfare," and though the losses were admitted, settlement was denied because of the lapse of time and the general nature of the claims.

In view of the spread of settlement, particularly in the western part, "with a rapidity unparalleled in the history of the United States," the number of documents that deal with the disposal of the waste lands is obviously large. They portray the duties of the Land Department, the inaccuracies of the surveys:

"not merely trifling errors, but errors of magnitude," the demerits of the credit system, the delays in issuing title after purchase had been completed, the encouragement given to the speculator and the squatters—"the pest of every settlement"—by the official policy of reducing the price of waste lands, the extensive depredations of the timber by residents of Upper Canada, and the impassable condition of the existing roads and the need of new ones in order to increase land values, facilitate settlement and provide for defence, after the example of Simcoe.

Closely related to the progressive settlement of the Territory was the problem of disposing of 20,000 Indians, sullenly suspicious and resentful of a policy that deprived them of their hunting-grounds and drove them ever westwards. No wonder they turned in despair upon their despoilers, burned homes, scalped and murdered settlers, plundered travellers, attacked traders, and intimidated surveyors. Various means were tried to win their confidence, but in vain. Indian agents were appointed to act in an advisory capacity, and as vigilant sentinels; unscrupulous traders were to be excluded; troops were stationed at strategic points to overawe the unruly and punish the aggressor; measures were taken to prevent the Indians from visiting the British trading post on Drummond's Island, where, it was believed, they received presents and anti-American counsel, the effects of which "may be traced in all our disputes with the Indians" ever since 1783. Since this intercourse could not be prevented and the settlement of Michigan must proceed, the government decided on a policy of extinguishing "Indian title to the whole of Michigan proper," and driving the Indians west of Lake Michigan or even west of the Mississippi.

These volumes constitute a mine of valuable data for the students of North American history.

NORMAN MACDONALD

McMaster University.

Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development. By WILLIAM COLGATE. With a foreword by C. W. JEFFERYS. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. xviii, 278. (\$5.00)

HISTORY, as it is conceived by the modern mind, is a record of the changing pattern of events, as distinguished from the older form of chronicle which was (and is) a record of the drama of individuals within any assumed framework of history. Since individuals are one kind of element in the pattern of events, there is and can be no absolute distinction between the two kinds of record, though the mechanistic assumption of current fashion reduces the role of the individual to a minimum. In any case, the informed historian is aware of a difficult relation and the wise one keeps the difficulty before him.

The history of art, like histories of religion and philosophy—indeed, in some measure like all the kinds of history in which the wilful judgments of individuals are recognized as potent—has the characteristic additional difficulty of distinguishing between standards of judgment. Its motive, though sometimes concealed, is in fact inherently critical. In this respect also, histories of art are informed, un-informed, or misinformed; foolish or wise, but never disinterested.

Three histories of Canadian art, of more than the length of an essay, have been published to date, and of none of them can it truthfully be said that the distinctions between history and chronicle, and between a statement of fact and an expression of judgment, have been adequately observed. The first, *The Fine*

Arts in Canada by Newton MacTavish, appeared in 1925 and was, in the main, a chatty chronicle of artists and artistic coteries in Toronto and Montreal, mainly devoted to painters of the author's own generation, but introduced by a summary of the earlier efforts of Canadian society to establish a cultural respectability, first of any kind, and secondly distinct from that of contemporary European taste. The chronicle was entirely undocumented, though its sources can be surmised and to some extent traced.

After the publication in the intervening years of a number of special studies and monographs by several authors on various personalities and aspects of Canadian art and architecture, *A Short History of Canadian Art* by Graham McInnes followed in 1939. The book, with these additional advantages, much more fully justified the title of "history," particularly in the earlier chapters, where a better understanding of the social-organic nature of "culture," and a more discriminating artistic judgment, gave the analytical narrative a more stimulating interest than that of a chronicle of fading fashions. In the later chapters an enthusiasm, commendable in itself, for the achievement of the Group of Seven, was allowed to obscure the historical origins of the new manner and to reduce the final level to that of the chronicle of approved personalities. The short length of the text in any case would have prohibited anything like a fully analytical and representative record of the various factors, geographic, economic, cultural, and political, ephemeral and enduring, which have contributed and are contributing to the formation of Canadian culture and art. It was provided with a short but well organized bibliography.

The book now under review reverts to the unanalytical method of the chronicle, though with a different (but still very idiosyncratic) sense of historical proportion from that of Mr. MacTavish. As Mr. Jefferys claims in a foreword, "it contains much matter that hitherto could be found only in scattered papers, or reports, or archival records, especially with regard to the early artists and topographical draughtsmen." Moreover, it is furnished with an extensive though by no means exhaustive bibliography, useful to a student in spite of such a lack of system as surely neither author nor publishers should have passed for print. The book resembles its chronicle prototype also in its summary treatment of the less personal arts of architecture and craft-design, so summary that it had better perhaps have been omitted altogether, or reduced to a simple gesture of formal recognition.

This disproportion is in part the result of an unresolved conflict of purposes, that of writing a general history of Canadian art having contended with a narrower desire to record the achievements and justify the ways of the Ontario painters of the close of the nineteenth and opening of the present century. For whereas the focus of recent writing on Canadian painting has been on Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven, the author's declared purpose in writing this book has been "to depict, as well as printed record and oral testimony might allow, the major influences at work in the early days of the arts in Canada which were eventually at a much later date to flower in a school of painting far beyond anything of the kind originally contemplated. Now since the Ontario Society of Artists, the Royal Canadian Academy, the Toronto Art Students League and the Graphic Arts Club had much to do with the shaping of the new movement, it is but natural and indeed inevitable that attention should be directed to their activities during the long period antecedent to the formation of the new school."

In accordance with this purpose, the history of Canadian art is begun, not in Quebec and the Maritimes, but in Upper Canada with the sketches of Mrs. Simcoe and other visiting ladies. To seven chapters dealing with the history of painting in Ontario (one might almost, of course, say Toronto), five chapters dealing with that of Quebec, the Maritime provinces, and the West, are appended. In a separate chapter on sculpture, the continuing baroque tradition of wood-carving in Quebec during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries receives no mention at all.

Not even this bias, however, can account for, and still less excuse, the apportionment of 88 lines of text to J. W. Beatty (Ontario, 1869-1941), 78 to Clarence Gagnon (Quebec, 1881-1942), but only 20 to J. W. Morrice, and 12 to Horatio Walker. Though both these latter painters were more or less international figures, and though Morrice spent the greater part of each year in Paris or on various travels, of neither (except of Morrice in the last ten years of his life) is it true, as is implied in the text, that he lost contact, either in person or in interest, with Canada. Nor can the neglect be condoned on the plea that each has been the subject of a monograph by another writer, for this reason would also have reduced the present apportionment of half a chapter to J. E. H. Macdonald. Moreover, if it were the author's intention that a reading of his text should be supplemented by reference to such independent sources, he should have indicated this in the appropriate place.

The organization of detail is scarcely happier than the general structure of the book. References to sources are not given, even in the case of the many quotations in the text, an identification of which would be rendered doubly difficult by the chaos of the bibliography, on which comment has already been made. Five manuscript sources are listed, of which the locus of only one is stated, though Mr. McInnes (whose book, incidentally, is not listed), indicates that Gagen's chronicle of the nineteenth century is in the Art Gallery of Toronto. One curious omission from the chapter on "illustrators" (which includes a mention of "the American artist, W. Langdon Kihn, whose portrayal and interpretation of Indian subjects . . . has stirred the admiration of the art world for its pure beauty, and of scientists for its truth") is any reference to Ernest Thompson Seton, whose idyllic books on wild life, illustrated by himself, were internationally famous about the turn of the century.

Finally, one cannot but regret that a publication recording the development of Canadian art, in which four paragraphs are justifiably devoted to the book bindings of Douglas Duncan and two pages to illustrating the decorations of Thoreau MacDonald, did not itself result in a more distinguished piece of book-making.

JOHN ALFORD

The University of Toronto.

The North American Indian Today. Edited by C. T. LORAM and T. F. McILWRAITH. (University of Toronto—Yale University Seminar-Conference, Toronto, September 4-16, 1939.) Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 361. (\$3.15)

In September, 1939, there was held in Toronto, under the joint auspices of the University of Toronto and Yale University, a seminar-conference on the North American Indians which was attended by representatives of several white

groups especially interested in the Indians, i.e. government officials, anthropologists, missionaries, and traders, together with a few of the Indians themselves. The discussions and papers revolved around certain phases of Indian-white relations, particularly those that have led to conflicts and mal-adjustments. After the conference closed, its two organizers, Professor Loram of Yale and Professor McIlwraith of Toronto, edited the papers for publication, and Mr. McIlwraith (for Mr. Loram unfortunately died in 1940) wrote short introductions to some of the sections to give more unity to the book.

The titles of these sections indicate very clearly the scope of the book. They are: "The Basis of Indian Life" (2 papers); "The Impact of Europe" (3); "The Indian and the Missionary" (5); "The Indian and the Government" (3); "The Problem of Land and Economics" (4); "The Problem of Health" (5); "Arts and Crafts of the Indian" (2); "Problem of Race Tension" (1), and a Valedictory Address.

Purely historical papers are in the minority; three-fourths deal entirely, or almost entirely, with present-day conditions. Papers on United States Indians alternate, as a rule, with others on the Canadian Indians, thus high-lighting the resemblances and differences in the problems of the two countries. Most of the American contributors breathe a manifest enthusiasm for their "Indian New Deal"—that recent reversal of government policy described in a short paper by its leading protagonist, Mr. John Collier, now Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington. In contrast, Canadian contributors appear fairly well satisfied with the general pattern of Dominion administration and do not advocate any major changes.

The delegates show least agreement in the field of education. One United States missionary holds that the modern commercial and industrial world offers few opportunities for the Indian, and that Indian schools, both government and mission, should return to their original purpose, viz. to fit the child to make its living upon the reservation. Another missionary, also from the United States, flatly disagrees, believing that the future of the Indian and success in Indian missions depends on a programme of assimilation; that missions should confine their efforts to the religious field and work for the assimilation of the Indians into a church life common with whites, leaving the tasks of health and education to the government. A Canadian writer, for his part, regards mission residential schools as indispensable for the progress of the Indians and thinks they deserve far greater financial support from the government than they now receive. Turning to the economic field, it is interesting to find an official of a great fur-trading company pleading that monopoly trade is preferable to competition not only for his share-holders, but for the Indians themselves, because in his judgment it promotes game conservation and involves less disturbance in the native economy.

Space forbids more than these samplings from the papers, which, although not all of equal merit, do nevertheless give the reader a deep insight into the problems of Indian-white relationships north of Mexico, and into the way those problems are being handled today. Students and administrators alike are deeply indebted to Professor McIlwraith for his competent editing of them and for his felicitous introductions to the various parts.

D. JENNESS

Ottawa.

Spomini pro perezhivannya pershik ukrayinskikh perecelentsiv v Kanadi 1892-1942. (Knizhka tsya napicana z nahodi 50—litnoyi richnitsi poyavi pershikh ukrayinskikh kolonistiv v Kanadi.) ("Recollection of the Experiences of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada." This book was written on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the coming of the first Ukrainian colonists to Canada.) By WILLIAM A. CZUMER. Edmonton: Published by the author, 11,546-97th Street. 1943. Pp. 183. (\$1.65)

THE author of this book arrived in Canada from Galicia in 1904 at the age of twenty-four. Already he had had experience as assistant to the village secretary, and later as instructor in a military physical training school in the old fortress town of Peremysl. Emigration from Galicia to Canada was reaching such high proportions at this time that the government of Manitoba decided in 1905 to establish a special training school for bilingual students who would teach in "Galician" settlements. Mr. Czumer became the fifth applicant to be accepted in the first year of the existence of this so-called "Ruthenian Training School." Since then he has had a varied career, spent mostly in Alberta, as teacher, homesteader, and merchant. Twice he was mayor of the village of Smoky Lake and always in the foreground of community activities. He makes no claim to be an historian but has long pursued the hobby of collecting historical data.

This book is not history but consists chiefly of accounts of the earliest Ukrainian settlers, indicating the circumstances under which they left the old country, and describing their first organizations in Canada. These accounts appear to have been compiled with considerable care. They represent invaluable raw material collected with no little difficulty by a contemporary who knew many of the early settlers personally. Such material is almost impossible to gather at a later period. When a better perspective of Western Canadian settlement appears many generations hence, the historians will be greatly indebted to such books as these which give details not found in official reports, and also much of the spirit of the times.

GEORGE W. SIMPSON

The University of Saskatchewan.

Our Old Home Town. By F. H. DOBBIN. Woodcut illustrations by MARY LEE. Toronto, Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada). 1943. Pp. xii, 246. (\$3.00)

THIS volume provides a striking illustration of the valuable historical material which appears from time to time in the weekly and daily press of Ontario, much of which deserves a more permanent form. In 1864 F. H. Dobbin began his apprenticeship in the press department of the *Peterborough Weekly Review*. With the exception of six years spent with the *Lindsay Post*, he remained with the *Review* until he retired in 1914. During the last twenty-seven years he was associate proprietor, directing the daily and weekly editions. Following the first Great War he began contributing a series of recollections to the *Review* and some of these have now been reprinted by his son, Ross L. Dobbin, thereby making available a readable and authentic account of early days around Peterborough. Wisely, the editor has not altered the articles in any way, for much of their charm comes from their easy-going, whimsical, and homely style.

There are thirty-eight chapters, all interesting and many exciting, each

covering some aspect of the history of, or life in, the Peterborough district. Some of the subjects covered are circuses, elections, domestic lighting, and whiskey at a shilling a gallon, guaranteed free from headaches.

One quotation which provides a revealing sidelight on early newspaper printing may be permitted here. "The advertisements of the Pinkham remedy, carried at the head of the lettering a picture of a very nice and amiable mature lady, arrayed in best black with a dainty lace collar. This picture alone inspired confidence. In the days of which we are relating, and afterwards, pictures or cuts were very scarce in country printing offices. That of Lydia Pinkham proved to be indispensable. When any woman of more than provincial importance came before the public, such as Florence Nightingale, Jenny Lind, or even in a pinch, Helen of Troy, the intelligent compositor would fetch the cut and so adorn the article to his great satisfaction. In such respect, Lydia Pinkham was a life-saver."

There are no footnotes and there is no index but the work will remain one of the important volumes of the local history of Ontario. If the dates of the newspapers from which the articles were taken had been given, certain contemporary references would have been clearer. The book is well printed and bound, and has attractive line drawings by Mary Lee at the heads of the chapters.

JAMES J. TALMAN

The University of Western Ontario.

Leaders of the Canadian Church. Third Series. Edited by BERTAL HEENEY. With a foreword by H. J. CODY. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. xvi, 191. (\$2.50)

THIS is the third volume in Canon Heeney's series of studies, to which the editor contributes three biographical sketches, of Bishop Anderson, Dean Tucker, and William Duncan. Canon Abbott-Smith writes on Frederick Julius Steen, the late Dean Tucker on Archbishop Machray of Rupert's Land, Archdeacon Balfour on Archbishop Thorneloe of Algoma, Chancellor Harris on Archbishop Worrell of Nova Scotia, Archdeacon Fotheringham on Archbishop Williams of Huron, Bishop Sovereign on Archbishop Stringer, and Bishop Seager on Canon Sydney Gould. In most cases the writers were the friends and colleagues of the men whose work they are describing, and the studies are very largely personal appreciations.

It is only indirectly, therefore, that the book touches upon the development of the Church which forms the background for the biographies. There are interesting descriptions by Canon Heeney of the early days in Western Canada, and by Bishop Sovereign of the difficulties encountered by the Stringers during their long period of missionary work in the North. In his short study of Frederick Julius Steen, Canon Abbott-Smith has given us a glimpse of one of the controversies which agitated the Church at the turn of the century, when the impact of critical studies, somewhat delayed, produced a short but rather violent reaction.

W. LYNDON SMITH

The University of Toronto.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

Discussion of Commonwealth relations (Round table, no. 135, June, 1944, 270-6). A survey of opinion in Canada on Commonwealth relations following Lord Halifax's speech to the Toronto Board of Trade in January, 1944. The author believes that it can be concluded that "throughout the country there is far more agreement on fundamental principles than is commonly realized either by outside observers or by Canadians themselves."

DURHAM, ROGER. *Le Projet d'une fédération impériale* (Action nationale, XXIII (4), avril, 1944, 251-69). The author is opposed to any recurrence of this idea.

FIELDHOUSE, H. N. *The "Commonwealth" issue calls for open minds* (Saturday night, LIX (23), Feb. 12, 1944, 6-7).

— "No Commitments" won't work for Britain now (Saturday night, LIX (24), Feb. 19, 1944, 6-7). Two articles in which the author surveys the popular and official reactions in Canada to the Halifax and Smuts statements on the organization of the Commonwealth; he believes that the best solution may lie in a system of bilateral treaties between nations of the Commonwealth.

FLAHERTY, FRANCIS. *Secretariat minor issue at Empire conference* (Saturday night, LIX (42), June 24, 1944, 20-1). The author points out that the problems of security and international organization in the post-war period outweighed the topic of a permanent Empire secretariat in the discussions of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, May, 1944.

GRAHAM, GERALD S. *Strong Commonwealth a step towards super-state* (Saturday night, LIX (35), May 6, 1944, 10-11). A structure such as the British Commonwealth provides not only a buttress but a pattern for a larger world organization.

HALE, C. HAROLD. *Canada's external policy in its relation to the Commonwealth*. [Orillia: Orillia Packet and Times. 1944.] Pp. 12. The text of an address to the Orillia Y's Men Club, reprinted from the *Packet and Times*, Orillia, Ontario, of February 17, 1944.

HARLOW, VINCENT. *Can the Commonwealth stay together in post-war?* (Saturday night, LIX (31, 32), April 8, 1944, 6; April 15, 6). Two articles discussing the recent history of the British Commonwealth leading to the proposal for a permanent Empire Council, and the justifications for such a Council.

HODGETTS, A. B. *What is Canada's future position in the Empire?* (Saturday night, LIX (40), June 10, 1944, 12-13). The author poses a series of questions such as, "Does active participation in Empire foreign policy involve a return to colonialism?"

KING, W. L. MACKENZIE. *Address to members of both Houses of Parliament, Westminster, May 11, 1944* (International conciliation, no. 401, section 2, June, 1944, 493-505). The Prime Minister's notable speech during his participation in the conference in London of the Dominion Prime Ministers.

LOWER, A. R. M. *The Commonwealth in the postwar world* (Country guide, April, 1944, 9, 50-2). An effective international system is the arrangement within which Canada could rest most easily.

- PRINCE, A. E. *The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference* (Queen's quarterly, LI (2), summer, 1944, 194-203). An analysis of the trends of opinion and the decisions reached at this important conference in May, 1944.
- S., H. L. *The British Commonwealth in the post-war world* (Dalhousie review, XXIV (1), April, 1944, 101-11). A discussion of some of the issues raised by Lord Halifax's Toronto speech concerning closer Commonwealth relations, and a survey of recent periodical literature on the subject.
- SANDWELL, B. K. *What is a Dominion?* (Canadian home journal, July, 1944, 2-3). Explains where Canada stands in relation to Great Britain.
- SHINWELL, EMMANUEL. *My kind of imperialism: A British Commonwealth organized for prosperity* (Empire review, no. 508, March-May, 1944, 29-34). "I insist that the Commonwealth large-scale economic planning which I have in mind will return a high dividend of well-being to all the peoples concerned if we tackle the job with common sense and goodwill."
- SMITH, F. D. L. *Empire indispensable to Canada and civilization* (Empire digest, I (8), May, 1944, 65-7). Surveys some views of the Empire given by "outsiders."
- STEVENSON, J. A. *Topics of the day* (Dalhousie review, XXIV (1), April, 1944, 88-100). A discussion of the fluidity and confusion of Canadian party politics, of Lord Halifax's Toronto speech concerning closer Commonwealth unity, and of Canadian immigration problems.
- TROTTER, R. G. *Commonwealth: Pattern for peace?* (Behind the headlines series, IV (5).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1944. Pp. 41. (10c.) A timely pamphlet which discusses many of the questions regarding the Commonwealth which are arousing interest today.
- WALKER, ERIC A. *The Commonwealth in action* (Contemporary review, no. 943, July, 1944, 1-7). The most heartening outcome of the May imperial conference was the unanimous "Yes" of the prime ministers to all the vital things, and the pledge to work for their spread through all the world.
- What the British Empire has done.* Part II. *Canada* (Empire digest, I (11), Aug., 1944, 10-15). Facts and figures on Canada's share in the war. Part I was on the United Kingdom, and following issues will deal with other Dominions, India, and the Colonial Empire, etc.
- What is the British Empire?* Montreal: Head office, Royal Bank of Canada. 1944. Pp. 14. A reprint of the monthly letters of May and June, 1944, of the Royal Bank of Canada.

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- ANDERSON, ALLAN. *Our Latin-American neighbors.* (Canadian Affairs pamphlets, I (10).) Ottawa: Wartime Information Board. June 1, 1944. Pp. 24.
- COWIE, DONALD. *Scandinavia and the Dominions* (Queen's quarterly, LI (1), spring, 1944, 56-63). The author advocates "a closer relationship between like-minded, like-situated countries such as the British Dominions and the Scandinavian lands" as a start toward a united league of less powerful nations to act as a check upon the great powers, and to see that they respect minority rights.
- HODGETTS, A. B. *Canada must revise ideas on relations with others* (Saturday night, LIX (25), Feb. 26, 1944, 9). Points out that Canadians, whatever government was in power, were cool toward "commitments," but that they can no longer maintain such a policy.

LEDoux, BURTON. *Canadian-American relations* (Virginia quarterly review, XX (2), spring, 1944, 298-303). A review article treating a number of recent volumes in the Canadian-American Relations series.

National Council for Canadian-Soviet Friendship. *Abstracts of addresses delivered at Congress for Canadian-Soviet friendship, November 12, 13, and 14, 1943, Toronto; and resolutions adopted.* Toronto: The Council. 1944. Pp. [19].

PEARSON, L. B. *Canada and the post-war world.* (Canadian affairs pamphlets, I (6).) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1944. Pp. 20. It is easier now than before the war for Canada to reconcile her position as an independent nation in the British Commonwealth of Nations with her position as a North American state and her position as a member of the world community.

STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR and ROSS, MALCOLM. *Canada and the U.S.S.R.* (Canadian affairs pamphlet, I (12).) Ottawa: Wartime Information Board. July 1, 1944. Pp. 24. In this pamphlet Mr. Stefansson surveys "The Arctic Link," and Mr. Ross presents "Canada Looks at the U.S.S.R."

WHITAKER, ARTHUR P. (ed.). *Inter-American affairs, 1943.* (An annual survey, no. 3.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 277. (\$3.00) Twelve contributors here record the developments in politics and diplomacy, labour and social welfare, industry, commerce, and finance, transportation and communications, and cultural relations of the twenty-two American nations in the Western Hemisphere. Two articles specifically on Canada are: "Politics and Diplomacy: Canada" by JOHN P. HUMPHREY; and "Industry, Commerce, and Finance: Canada" by R. W. JAMES. To be reviewed later.

III. CANADA, THE WAR, AND RECONSTRUCTION

Canada, Wartime Information Board. *Canada at war* series, nos. 36-9. Ottawa: King's Printer. May-August, 1944. Pp. 64; 56; 72; 72.

FERGUSON, GEORGE V. *What Canada fights for* (Listener, XXXI (no. 791), March 9, 1944, 261-3). A talk given over the B.B.C. Home Service while the correspondent was visiting Great Britain as one of a party of Canadian editors and newspapermen.

GRACE, JOHN. *The Canadian soldier and the study of current affairs* (International affairs, XX (2), July, 1944, 341-6). A lecture given at Chatham House, February 15, 1944, on the organization and development of current affairs studies among the Canadian Army in training in England.

LINGARD, C. CECIL. *Canada's stake in the war and the peace* (Pacific affairs, XVII (2), June, 1944, 156-67). A survey of Canada's new position as a "world power."

MCINNIS, EDGAR. *Oxford periodical history of the war.* No. 18. October to December, 1943. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. 90. (25c.)

PLUMPTRE, A. F. W. *Canada's contribution to the relief of devastated countries* (Commerce journal, no. 4, n.s., April, 1944, 17-20). The amount of Canada's contribution has not yet been decided, but her signature of the agreement establishing UNRRA implies her great interest in the establishment of international bodies as a means of meeting international difficulties.

SHAPIRO, L. S. B. *Dieppe—invasion key* (Maclean's magazine, LVII (13), July 1, 1944, 7, 46-7). "The information and experience the Canadians bought with their lives [at Dieppe] made possible the expert construction of the invasion of western Europe."

STANLEY, GEORGE F. G. *Canadian tunnellers at Gibraltar* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVIII (6), June, 1944, 245-57).

WOODS, WALTER S. *When he comes home* (Country guide, May, 1944, 10, 38-40). A description of Canada's rehabilitation programme, the machinery of which is already operating. "I am convinced when the great testing time comes at the end of the war, it will prove to be effective."

IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

BINGHAM, ROBERT W. and THEOBALD, RALPH E. *Niagara, highway of heroes: A narrative history of western New York state*. Buffalo: Foster and Stewart Publishing Corporation. 1943. Pp. x, 154. (\$1.50) This is a brief, popular history, intended for children, of the western portion of the state of New York. Written in a simple, narrative style, it gives a short account of the American side of the Niagara region from the time of the Indians to the present day. One of its best features is the admirable impartiality and detachment with which it deals with various problems of American-Canadian relations.

BREBNER, J. BARTLET. *Uses and abuses of history* (Dalhousie review, XXIV (1), April, 1944, 31-42). The noblest type of history is that which seeks to discover how the past has built up the present. The author enters a plea for more history of this type and for more public support of the historians.

MACKAY, R. A. *The nature and function of the social sciences* (C.J.E.P.S., X (3), Aug., 1944, 277-86). The presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, June 1, 1944. It is pointed out that the present is a transitional period in the life of the nation, possibly also a transitional stage in higher education, and that it is extremely important "that social scientists should have firm opinions as to the nature of their calling, both with a view to guiding educational expansion, and assisting them in deciding their personal responsibilities in a distracted world."

(2) Discovery and Exploration

DELANGLEZ, JEAN (ed.). *The voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay in 1679* (Mid-America, XXVI (3) [vol. XV, n.s.], July, 1944, 221-50). Presents a document found in the Archives du Services Hydrographique, describing Jolliet's trip to Hudson Bay in 1679; the author gives an extensive introduction recounting earlier voyages of discovery and exploration of Hudson Bay by the English and the French.

(3) New France

Collection "Nos Fondateurs." 1. *Quatre fondateurs* par FRANÇOIS-XAVIER GRONDIN (40 pp.). 2. *Mgr de Laval* par GEORGES-ÉDOUARD DEMERS (48 pp.). 3. *Marie de l'Incarnation* par ANDRÉ DAGENAI (40 pp.). 4. *Marguerite Bourgeoys* par HENRI GARROUTEIGT (36 pp.). 5. *Catherine de Saint-Augustin* par ÉMILE GERVAIS (48 pp.). 6. *La mère de nos mères* par RINA LASNIER (32 pp.). Montréal: Le Messager canadien, 1961, rue Rachel est. Jan.-July, 1943. (10c. each)

[COURVILLE, Sieur de]. *Les Malignités du Sieur de Courville* (B.R.H., L (3, 4), mars, 1944, 65-86; avril, 97-117). Extracts concerning the prominent men of French Canada from 1749-60, taken from the "pages malignes" of the *Mémoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760* by the Sieur de Courville, an irascible civil servant of the French colonial government.

FALARDEAU, JEAN-CHARLES. *Paroisses de France et de Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*. (Cahiers de l'Ecole des Sciences Sociales, Politiques et Économiques de Laval, II (7).) Québec: Éditions du "Cap Diamant." 1943. Pp. 38. (15c.) Outlines the history of these parishes, and discusses the historical and social significance of the parish system.

PROVOST, HONORIUS. *Les Colonies françaises—passé et avenir* (Le Canada français, XXXI (9), mai, 1944, 669-73). Some criticisms of the section on French Canada in *Les Colonies françaises—passé et avenir*, by Jacques Stern, recently published in New York.

R[OV], P.-G. *Contrats de mariage de l'ancien régime* (B.R.H., L(3), mars, 1944, 93-4).

STANLEY, GEORGE F. G. *The Canadian militia during the Ancien Régime* (Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, XXII (88), winter, 1943, 157-68). The militiamen of New France served her well; what was postponed too long was an amalgamation of militia and regulars, so that the best points of each could be further developed.

STERN, JACQUES. *Les Colonies françaises—passé et avenir*. New York: Brentano's. 1943. Pp. xx, 397. (\$2.50 American) To be reviewed later.

TESSIER, ALBERT. *Courage viril* (Paysana, VII (3), mai, 1944, 6).
Les Femmes à Ville-Marie (Paysana, VII (1), mars, 1944, 7). Two articles paying tribute to the courage of the women of New France.

(4) **British North America before 1867**

ALDEN, JOHN RICHARD. *John Stuart and the southern colonial frontier: A study of Indian relations, war, trade, and land problems in the southern wilderness, 1754-1775*. (University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, XV.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1944. Pp. 398. (\$4.00) A study of John Stuart, British Indian superintendent, and Indian policy in the South between the Seven Years' War and the Revolution.

BARBEAU, MARIUS and WILSON, CLIFFORD. *Tobacco for the fur trade* (Beaver, outfit 274, March, 1944, 36-9). Traces the importance of tobacco in the fur trade from 1700 until the present day.

BARKER, BURT BROWN (ed.). *McLoughlin proprietary account with Hudson's Bay Company* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLV (1), March, 1944, 1-41). The editor hopes that the publication of this account may clear away many unfortunate traditions which have gathered around the financial arrangement between Dr. John McLoughlin and the Hudson's Bay Company.

BELKNAP, HENRY WYCKOFF (ed.). *A check list of Salem privateers in the War of 1812* (Essex Institute historical collections, LXXX (2), April, 1944, 158-76). Another instalment of this checklist.

HALE, RICHARD WALDEN. *The Royal Americans*. Ann Arbor: The William L. Clements Library. April, 1944. Pp. 28. In this outline of the history of one of the most famous infantry regiments of the British Army—the 60th or King's Royal Rifle Corps—first known as the Royal Americans, the author has brought together for the first time the "Royal" and "American" parts of that history into a single dramatic narrative. It was raised first in America in 1755, "to avenge Braddock's defeat," and to guard the long American frontier against French, Indians, and Spaniards. It fought gallantly in the Seven Years' War and in "Pontiac's War" which followed. As a unit it remained loyal in the American Revolution, and when peace came was sent to the West Indies for garrison duty. From then on it lost its "American" connotation, and fought as the 60th Rifles in the Peninsular War with Wellington. On its return to England in 1824 for home service, it became the King's Royal Rifle Corps. Its later career in the Indian Mutiny, the War of 1914-18, and the present war, bring the account up to date.

KNOX, HAROLD and KNOX, OLIVE. *Chief Factor Archibald McDonald* (Beaver, outfit 274, March, 1944, 42-6). A sketch of one of the distinguished group of Hudson's Bay Company Commissioned Gentlemen who were Lords of the West a century ago.

MARTIN, THOMAS P. *The staff of life in diplomacy and politics during the early eighteenth-fifties* (Agricultural history, XVIII (1), Jan., 1944, 1-15). The rapprochement in British-American relations, climaxed by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1856, is surveyed from the point of view of the importance of American foodstuffs to a Great Britain on the verge of war with Russia.

[MOUNTAIN, GEORGE JEHOSEPHAT.] *His lordship goes voyaging* (Beaver, outfit 275, June, 1944, 10-13). The second in a series of extracts from rare northern books in the library at Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg. This extract is taken from *The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal* (London, 1845), written by the Right Rev. George Jehosephat Mountain, Bishop of Montreal and son of the Right Rev. Jacob Mountain, and describes his journey from Montreal to the Red River in 1844.

MYATT, WILFRID E. (ed.). *The autobiography of Oliver Goldsmith: Published for the first time from the original manuscript of the author of "The Rising Village."* With a foreword by LORNE PIERCE. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. xviii, 76. (\$2.50) This volume contains the hitherto unpublished autobiography of the man who has been described as Canada's first native-born, English-speaking poet. Oliver Goldsmith, a descendant of the famous Oliver, was born in 1794 at St. Andrew's, in New Brunswick, the son of Loyalist parents. The greater part of his forty-five years of service in the Commissariat Department of the British Army was passed at different stations in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland. And his poem, *The Rising Village*, written in frank imitation of his great-uncle's masterpiece and published in 1825, portrayed the difficulties and struggles of the first generation of Loyalists. The publication of the autobiography is therefore of interest both to the literary and to the general historian. Though Goldsmith's account of his own career is brief, it contains a number of interesting pictures of life in the Maritime Provinces during the first decade of the nineteenth century; and his description of his father's tribulations add an interesting footnote to the history of the Loyalists in New Brunswick. Father Myatt has written a brief introduction to the autobiography, and has provided the reader with copious and careful explanatory notes. [D. G. CREIGHTON]

[ROBSON, JOSEPH.] *Building Fort Prince of Wales* (Beaver, outfit no. 274, March, 1944, 20-3). The first of a series of articles in which extracts dealing with the North from old and rare books in the library of the Hudson's Bay House in Winnipeg, will be reprinted. This extract is taken from *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*, written by Joseph Robson, a stone-mason and surveyor employed by the Hudson's Bay Company at Churchill from 1733-6, and at York Factory and Churchill from 1745-8. It describes the building of the Prince of Wales's Fort—the strongest fortress after Louisbourg and Quebec on the continent.

(5) The Dominion of Canada

ANGERS, FRANÇOIS-ALBERT. *French Canada and social security* (C.J.E.P.S., X (3), Aug., 1944, 355-64). Presents the problem of social security in its philosophical, political, and practical aspects as seen by a French Canadian.

ARCHAMBAULT, JOSEPH-PAPIN. *Pour un ordre meilleur* (L'École sociale populaire, janv.-fév., 1944, 360-1). A reprint of an important statement on social reconstruction in Canada, published by the Semaines Sociales du Canada in September, 1943; the reprint is accompanied by commentary and a bibliography.

ATKINSON, L. MCL. *The Japanese controversy is reviving liberalism* (Saturday night, LIX (45), July 15, 1944, 6). The vigorous campaign which was carried on against the disfranchisement of the Japanese Canadians, despite failure, is an encouraging sign that liberalism still exists in Canada.

BARR, G. H. *Why Canada requires a new constitution* (Saturday night, LIX (43), July 1, 1944, 14).

BEAUCHESNE, ARTHUR. *The provincial legislatures are not parliaments* (Canadian bar review, XXII (2), Feb., 1944, 137-46).

BERRY, E. G. *Whitman's Canadian friend* (Dalhousie review, XXIV (1), April, 1944, 77-82). A description of the friendship between Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke of London, Ontario, and Walt Whitman. "Every student of Walt Whitman must be grateful to Bucke for the many illuminating facts and impressions of which every writer on Whitman has made use, and it is especially interesting to see that it was a Canadian who came to Whitman when friends were few, and remained with him."

BLACK, NORMAN FERGUS. *The problem of Japanese Canadians, and solution* (Saturday night, LIX (22), Feb. 5, 1944, 12).

- BOUCHARD, T. DAMIEN. *The underground in Quebec* (Labour review, VI (17), July, 1944, 299-303). Partial text of the speech of the Senator from the Laurentides in the Senate at Ottawa, June 21, 1944, during the debate on a uniform history text-book for all Canada.
- BUCHANAN, DONALD. *The projection of Canada* (University of Toronto quarterly, XIII (3), April, 1944, 298-305). Through the National Film Board, Canada has flourishing documentary and factual film units, which aim to put the workday face of Canada on the screen; the 16 mm. films made by the Board circulate into all parts of Canada, introducing one part of the country to another, giving a background of world events, or serving as a spur to group activity.
- Canada, Dominion of. *Report of the Public Archives for the year 1943* by GUSTAVE LANCTOT. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1944. Pp. xxxvi, 186. (50c.) In the *Report for 1943*, a number of interesting documents have been published for the first time. The most significant of these are an Order in Council of 1657 which changed the Quebec Trade Council into a partly elective body, and a group of documents taken from the William McDougall Papers which have to do with the London Conference of 1866-7. Included in the latter is a long and confidential letter from McDougall to Lord Monck, written in the heat of the London discussions. The main body of the *Report* is made up of the continuation of the valuable calendar of the Q series. This instalment deals with the papers relating to Upper Canada, during the years 1824-38. [D. G. CREIGHTON]
- Canadian Social Science Research Council. *Third annual report, 1942-3*. Ottawa: The Council, 166 Marlborough Avenue. 1944. Pp. 31. This report not only gives evidence of the scope and variety of the Council's activities; it also throws a good deal of interesting light on the values by which these activities are informed. The *Correspondence concerning Liberal Arts Courses* is printed in full. This includes the Memorandum on Government Regulations concerning Arts Courses, which was sent by the Social Science Research Council to the Prime Minister in January, 1943, and the Prime Minister's reply. Without question, these are important documents in the history of government policy with respect to Canadian universities during the present war.
- CLARK, S. D. *The social development of Canada and the American continental system* (Culture, V (2), juin, 1944, 132-43). The boundary between Canada and the United States has been as significant in social development as in economic; both in frontier society and today the problem remains one of building up an economic, political, and cultural system sufficiently strong to withstand the pressures exerted by a powerful American continental system.
- DAVIS, T. C. *Some observations on the Canadian constitution* (Australian law journal, XVII (8), Dec., 1943, 242-7).
- DENISON, MERRILL. *Canada: Our Dominion neighbour*. (Headline series, no. 46.) With a section on "Modern French Canada" by MARINE LELAND. New York: Foreign Policy Association. May, 1944. Pp. 96. (25c.)
- DESMARCHAIS, REX. *Les Colonialismes nécessaires* (La revue dominicaine, L (1), mars, 1944, 152-62). Believes that there could be worse fates for French Canada than her cultural dependence on France, her political derivatives from England.
- DESROSIERS, LÉO-PAUL. *Quelques ouvrages récents d'histoire du Canada* (Culture, V (2), juin, 1944, 174-83). A review of four recent books, the new edition of Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*, Stephen Leacock's *Canada: The Foundations of Its Future*, the Abbé Groulx's *Notre Maître, le passé*, and Guy Frégault's *Iberville le conquérant*.
- DOWD, NORMAN S. *Canada's voice heard in labor conference* (Saturday night, LIX (41), June 17, 1944, 12-13). A representative of the Canadian Congress of Labor at the International Labour Conference recently in Philadelphia, gives some views of the work of the Conference and Canada's part in it.

- DUGRÉ, ALEXANDRE. *Lettre à M. Leacock et al.* (Relations, no. 39, mars, 1944, 62-5). An open letter, expounding the extremist French-Canadian viewpoint on French-English relations.
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- Même sang, autre sol—et l'avenir?* (Relations, no. 42, juin, 1944, 151-3; no. 44, août, 1944, 205-8). The author deplores the complete assimilation of the Franco-Americans in American ways of life, and their departure from the French traditions and language and wonders if, even though lost to French Canada, they can be rewon to French culture.
- ELMSLEV, J. M. and LANGFORD, R. J. S. *After this war Canada will need a vocational army* (Saturday night, LIX (28), March 18, 1944, 9). Written by two distinguished military men.
- FLAHERTY, FRANCIS. *Will post-war period see B.N.A. Act overhauled?* (Saturday night, LIX (28), March 18, 1944, 12).
- FRASER, BLAIR. "Canada came of age" (Maclean's magazine, LVII (13), July 1, 1944, 5-6, 42-3). A journalist's comment on the Conference of Prime Ministers.
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- Crisis in Quebec* (Maclean's magazine, LVII (16), Aug. 15, 1944, 5-6, 43-6). The author believes that under the surface dissension in Quebec, men of good will are building a new basis for national unity; but he points out that these men say "If you want to help, you *Anglais* must do the hardest thing of all—just let us alone."
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- What do the Progressive Conservatives stand for?* (Maclean's magazine, LVII (9), May 1, 1944, 10-11, 50-1, 53-6). The answers to thirty-three vital questions by the Hon. John Bracken.
- G., V. E. *Revision of constitution will strengthen Canada* (Saturday night, LIX (34), April 29, 1944, 21).
- GRIERSON, JOHN. *A film policy for Canada.* (Canadian affairs pamphlets, I (11).) Ottawa: Wartime Information Board. June 15, 1944. Pp. 20. By the Director of the National Film Board.
- GROULX, LIONEL. *Pourquoi nous sommes divisés.* Montréal: Les Editions de l'Action nationale. Nov., 1943. Pp. 42. (5c.) A reply to the Abbé Maheux's radio addresses and book, *Pourquoi somme-nous divisés?* (see C.H.R., XXV, June, 1944, p. 200).
- HAMILTON, R. M. *A national war memorial library* (Ontario library review, XXVIII (1), Feb., 1944, 3-4). A plea for a Canadian memorial of this nature based on what other countries of the Empire have done.
- HARRISON, W. N. *The Statute of Westminster and dominion sovereignty*, I and II (Australian law journal, XVII (9, 10), Jan., 1944, 282-6; Feb., 1944, 314-18).
- ILLANES, FILIPE PARDINAS. *Canada amable vecino continental* (Montezuma, VI, Jan., 1944, 101-6; March, 198-207). This Mexican periodical presents two articles on the French-Canadian parish and educational institutions.
- In memoriam: Sir Robert Alexander Falconer, K.C.M.G.* I. *The years of his administration* by H. J. CODY; II. *The man and his interests* by MALCOLM W. WALLACE; III. *Religion and scholarship* by W. R. TAYLOR; IV. *Chronological bibliography* by KATHERINE WALES (University of Toronto quarterly, XIII (2), Jan., 1944, 135-74). A group of memorial articles paying tribute to the former President of the University of Toronto.
- JARAY, G.-L. *Le Canada devant la guerre* (Cité nouvelle, 10 novembre, 1943, 532-65).
- LEACOCK, STEPHEN. *What's ahead for Canada?* (Financial post, Dec. 4, 11, 18, 25, 1943, Jan. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, Feb. 5, 1944). A series of ten articles on Canada's prospects for the future, by the late Professor of Economics at McGill University.

- LEWIS, DAVID. *Canada swings left* (Nation, vol. 158 (24), June 10, 1944, 671-3). Describes the growth of the C.C.F., its recent successes, its future programme.
- *Farmer-labor unity: The experience of the C.C.F.* (Antioch review, IV (2), summer, 1944, 166-76). "I have tried to argue, both from general principles and from the Canadian experience, that a proper policy and organizational approach can unite farmer and worker into a people's political movement."
- LUDWIG, EMIL. *Mackenzie King: A portrait sketch*. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd. 1944. Pp. viii, 62. (\$1.25) An estimate of Mr. King's character and of his place in the light of history.
- MARTIN, PAUL. *Canada's manpower policy* (University of Toronto quarterly, XIII (2), Jan., 1944, 196-206). There have been three general phases in Canada's manpower policy, the last being compulsory regulation; although admittedly not perfect, it has achieved much in distributing and employing manpower to correspond to sudden and unforeseen changes in need.
- MOORE, E. S. *An address on the life and work of the late Professor Arthur P. Coleman, Ph.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., on the occasion of an exhibition of Dr. Coleman's watercolours at Victoria University, Toronto, Canada*. Toronto: Victoria University Library. [1944.] Pp. 9 (mimeo.). This address gives major consideration to Professor Coleman's career as geologist, explorer, and mountaineer, with a brief outline of his chief hobby, sketching and painting.
- NADEAU, JEAN-MARIE. *Horizons d'après-guerre: Essais de politique économique canadienne*. Montréal: Lucien Parizeau et Compagnie. 1944. Pp. 320. To be reviewed later.
- PETERS, K. B. M. *Action can preserve Sea Cadet Movement* (Saturday night, LIX (25), Feb. 26, 1944, 14-15).
- Public opinion polls* (Public opinion quarterly, VIII (2), summer, 1944, 276-303). A compilation of poll results released by various institutes of public opinion in the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and Australia, on Politics, Social and Economic Issues, the War, Post-war International Relations.
- ROUSSIN, M. *Vers une mentalité canadienne* (Les Carnets viatoriens, IXe année, no. 2, avril, 1944, 105-12). Outlines the development of Canada as a nation, and suggests the media by which nationhood may be more fully developed.
- SANDERS, WILFRID. *Jack and Jacques: A scientific approach to the study of French and non-French thought in Canada*. (Live and learn books.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. iv, 46. (50c.) The material on which this booklet is based is taken from the findings of the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, or Gallup Poll of Canada.
- SANDWELL, B. K. *Stephen Leacock, worst-dressed writer, made fun respectable* (Saturday night, LIX (31), April 8, 1944, 17). A tribute to the well-known Canadian humorist.
- *What is the "freedom" that French Canada desires to "reassert"?* (Saturday night, LIX (28), March 18, 1944, 13). An answer to Father Alexander Dugré's article in the March, 1944, issue of *Relations*.
- SCOTT, F. R. *The end of Dominion status* (American journal of international law, XXXVIII (1), Jan., 1944, 34-49). Expounds the conviction that the term "Dominion status" is now inappropriate for what it is considered to express.
- SNIDER, C. H. J. *"Shall these bones live?"* (Queen's quarterly, LI (1), spring, 1944, 42-55). Some reminiscences of ships well-known in early Canadian history on the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence.
- Socialism in Canada* (New statesman and nation, XXVII (676), Feb. 5, 1944, 90). Recent advances made by the C.C.F. are described.

- STEMBRIDGE, JASPER H. *A portrait of Canada*. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 164. (\$3.25)
- STEVENSON, R. C. *Ten thousand sea cadets at Navy League camps this summer* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIX (2), Aug., 1944, 100-4). A description of the activities of the boys of the Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Corps at summer camps across Canada.
- TOBIN, BRIAN. *Hudson's Bay House* (Beaver, outfit 274, March, 1944, 28-35). An account of the day to day activities at the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg today.
- WALLACE, R. C. *Conservation is an ideal post-war undertaking* (Saturday night, LIX (32), April 15, 1944, 78-9). Principal Wallace, in dealing with one phase of the "Useful-Army Plan," shows how that plan may be made to serve the returned soldier as well as to conserve forests, lands, and streams.
- WILLIAMSON, O. T. G. *Canada must have an army that is useful in peacetime* (Saturday night, LIX (27), March 11, 1944, 6-7). An army maintained in peacetime can be an asset to the country; it can be a combined army-university, turning out trained men of use to the nation in many fields.
- WYATT, HORACE G. *Crime in Canada and the war*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. vi, 47. (35c.) This pamphlet is frankly based on the Report of the Royal Commission which was appointed in 1936 to inquire into the penal system of Canada. The statistics on crime in Canada have been carried up to the first years of the war; but, apart from this, the pamphlet does not go much beyond the material of the Report, and in particular it makes no very satisfactory attempt to examine and explain the relationship between the war and the present alarming growth of crime and juvenile delinquency. Nevertheless, *Crime in Canada and the War* will do good by reminding Canadians that they have an antiquated penal system which is more than ready for a thorough reform.

V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

- KEIRSTEAD, B. S. and KEIRSTEAD, M. S. *The impact of the war on the Maritime economy*. (Dalhousie University Bulletins on Public Affairs, XIII.) Halifax: Imperial Publishing Co. 1944. Pp. vi, 28. (25c.) This is an excellent pamphlet, clear, bright, informative, and readable. It is based upon the results of a comprehensive survey, first undertaken in 1940 by the Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie University, into the changes brought by the war in the social and economic structure of the Maritime region. It is expected that the main report of this survey will be published in the near future; in the meantime this pamphlet may be regarded as a condensation of the material, prepared for popular consumption. It is, of course, concerned mainly with the war and its effects; but it reveals a wealth of knowledge and understanding of the background and history of the Maritime way of life. [D. G. CREIGHTON]
- MCALLISTER, G. A. *Development of local government in Nova Scotia* (Public affairs, VII (1), autumn, 1943, 26-30).
- MACNUTT, T. EDGAR. *Notes on the military history of Prince Edward Island (French regime)*. Charlottetown: The author. N.d. Pp. 16. The author presents facts culled from history texts and other sources on the military history of Prince Edward Island. His article is reprinted from the Charlottetown *Patriot*, June 2, 3, and 5, 1939.

(2) The Province of Quebec

- BÉDARD, AVILA. *Forestry in Quebec: Past—present—future* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVIII (6), June, 1944, 258-80). "The Quebec forests . . . constitute . . . the most outstanding of our national resources." The role they have played and will play in our economy justify the use of every possible means to conserve them.

DUFRESNE, A. O. *Quebec, a mineral store* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIX (1), July, 1944, 12-25). A description of the mineral wealth to be found in northern Quebec.

FALARDEAU, JEAN-CHARLES. *Evolution et métabolisme contemporain de la ville de Québec* (Culture, V (2), juin, 1944, 121-31). A study of the urban development of Quebec City.

_____. *Problems and first experiments of social research in Quebec* (C.J.E.P.S., X (3), Aug., 1944, 365-71). "The more immediate concern of this paper is to discuss the origin and the first experiments of one institution, which in my opinion represents something specifically new in the province, the Department of Social Research of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Laval University."

FORGET, ULYSSE. *L'apprentissage en 1875* (B.R.H., L (5), mai, 1944, 157-8). Some notes on Lucien Giroux's apprenticeship as a blacksmith at Ste-Brigitte in 1875.

MASSICOTTE E.-Z. *La Tonnelerie* (B.R.H., L (3), mars, 1944, 87-9). Notes on some eighteenth-century cask makers of Montreal.

QUINN, HERBERT F. *Parties and politics in Quebec* (Canadian forum, XXIV (no. 280), May, 1944, 32-4).

RISTELHUEBER, RENÉ. *Vieilles Maisons du Québec* (Paysana, VII (3), mai, 1944, 8).

R[OY], P.-G. *Québec, Lauzon, Lévis* (B.R.H., L (5), mai, 1944, 148-50). Explains how the sons of Etienne Charest transferred the three names—Québec, Lauzon, and Lévis—to the distant island of Saint-Dominique.

TURCOTTE, EDMOND. *Tory eyes on Quebec* (Nation, vol. 158 (26), June 24, 1944, 732-4).

(3) The Province of Ontario

GALE, EDWARD C. *From Kenora to Fort Frances with Edward C. Gale* (Minnesota history, XXIV (4), Dec., 1943, 275-86). A reprint of an article, "Up the Rainy Lake River" which the late Mr. Gale of Minneapolis wrote for the *Literary Northwest* (St. Paul), II, Feb., 1893, about a journey he had just made from Kenora to Fort Frances by way of the Lake of the Woods and Rainy River.

KIDD, KENNETH E. *The excavation of Fort Ste-Marie* (Proceedings of the Royal Canadian Institute, VIII, 1942-3, 54-6).

[Lambton Loan and Investment Company.] *One hundred years of service: The record of the Lambton Loan and Investment Company, Sarnia, Ontario*. [Sarnia: The Company. 1944.] Pp. 40. This is a brief account of the oldest mortgage company in Canada, which began business in a small way a hundred years ago in Sarnia. The Company has modestly stuck to its first constituency of Western Ontario; and "through the vicissitudes of one hundred years of Canadian finance, its depositors have never lost a cent, and its shareholders have never missed a dividend." This little account of the Company's fortunes contains some interesting excerpts from its early records; but one wishes that these had been lengthier and more frequent.

LOWER, A. R. M. *By river to Albany* (Beaver, outfit 275, June, 1944, 16-19). The author describes a canoe trip made down the Albany River to James Bay thirty years ago.

Waterloo Historical Society. *Thirty-first annual report, 1943*. Kitchener, Ont.: The Society. March, 1944. Pp. 48. "The Six Nations Indians" by ELLIOTT MOSES; "The Freeport Sanatorium" by E. N. COUTTS; "New Hamburg Public School" by O. HAMILTON; "The Church of the Good Shepherd, Kitchener" by D. JOHNSON; "Resolutions upon Death of President Lincoln, 1865, by Citizens of Berlin, now Kitchener and Waterloo," edited by E. F. DONOHUE, are the articles in the latest report of the Society.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

FOWKE, VERNON C. *Prairie Provinces* (Canadian affairs pamphlet, I (14). Ottawa: King's Printer. Aug. 1, 1944. Pp. 20. The fourteenth in the series of pamphlets published by the Wartime Information Board for the Canadian armed forces, surveys the Prairie Provinces. Other pamphlets dealing with other parts of Canada are to follow shortly.

HERRIOT, MARION H. (ed.). *Through Minnesota to the Canadian west in 1869* (Minnesota history, XXIV (4), Dec., 1943, 328-35). Reprints the letter of an unidentified emigrant to the *Canadian Churchman* (Kingston, Ont.), November 3, 1869, recounting the details of his journey from Ontario through Minnesota to Fort Garry, the only practicable route at that time.

KING, CARLYLE. *The C.C.F. sweeps Saskatchewan* (Canadian forum, XXIV (no. 282), July, 1944, 79). The C.C.F. victory in Saskatchewan was partly a vote for socialism, but to a greater extent a protest vote against the policies of the Liberal governments in Regina and Ottawa.

The Saskatchewan election (New statesman and nation, XXVIII (no. 698), July 8, 1944, 21). Comment on the C.C.F. victory in the June election.

STEVENSON, J. A. *Topics of the day: The Saskatchewan election* (Dalhousie review, XXIV (2), July, 1944, 219-24). A summing up of the recent success at the polls of the C.C.F. in Saskatchewan.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

DEE, HENRY DRUMMOND (ed.). *The journal of John Work, 1835: Being an account of his voyage northward from the Columbia River to Fort Simpson and return in the brig Lama, January-October, 1835. Part I* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VIII (2), April, 1944, 127-46). The narrative given here is drawn from the last two journals of the series of fifteen journals preserved in the Provincial Archives at Victoria, British Columbia, and appears in print for the first time; it deals with Work's Pacific Coast trips made in 1834 and 1835, in connection with the maritime fur trade.

PIPES, NELLIE B. (ed.). *The journal of John Work, March 21-May 14, 1825* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLV (2), June, 1944, 138-46). The journal for this period covers the period when Work was in charge of transferring the Hudson's Bay Company stock and materials from Fort George at what is now Astoria, Oregon, to the newly built fort at Vancouver (Washington); the original of the journal is in the archives of the Provincial Library at Victoria, British Columbia.

SAMPSON, HARRIET SUSAN. *My father, Joseph Despard Pemberton, 1821-93* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VIII (2), April, 1944, 111-25). The author's father came out to Vancouver Island as surveyor for the Hudson's Bay Company from 1851 to 1858; thereafter he worked as Surveyor-General of the colony from 1860-4. On the political scene he served as a member first of the original House of Assembly of Vancouver Island, 1856-9, then as a member of the Executive Council, 1863 and 1864, and again as a member of the Legislative Council, 1867 and 1868.

(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

CAMSELL, CHARLES. *Opening the North-West* (Beaver, outfit 275, June, 1944, 4-9). Describes the mineral, forest, agricultural, industrial, and wild life resources of the North-west, and the possibilities of developing them.

COOMBS, G. M. *The importance of Alaska* (Contemporary review, no. 940, April, 1944, 226-9). A sketch of Alaska's resources and of their development; the process is being hastened by war-time developments, notably the construction of the Canadian-Alaskan highway, which will also expedite the development of north-west Canada by probably one hundred years.

GRIFFIN, HAROLD. *Alaska and the Canadian northwest*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1944. Pp. viii, 221. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.

McCOWAN, DAN and GALL, E. J. *When lost in the North* (Beaver, outfit 275, June, 1944, 36-42). How airmen and others who are stranded in the North may keep alive till rescued.

ROBINSON, J. LEWIS. *Mineral resources and mining activity in the Canadian Eastern Arctic* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIX (2), Aug., 1944, 55-75). "The problems which are met in opening-up and developing Canada's Western Northland are not the same as those which will be met in the Eastern Arctic."

Royal Bank of Canada. *Monthly letter, August, 1944*. Montreal: The Bank. Aug., 1944. Pp. iv. This letter is devoted to the northland, describing living conditions, economic resources, transportation, etc.

STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR. *Arctic manual*. New York [Toronto]: Macmillan Co. 1944. Pp. xvi, 556. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

(7) Newfoundland

CHISHOLM, M. *Newfoundlanders' great sea service* (Empire digest, I (8), May, 1944, 40-3). The Newfoundlanders' instinct for the sea has served the Empire well during this war.

EWBANK, Sir ROBERT. *Can Newfoundland stand alone? Problems of a colony that must export to live* (Empire review, no. 508, March-May, 1944, 53-60). Some comment on the reports made by the British parliamentary mission to Newfoundland, in the House of Commons, December 16, 1943.

MURPHY, LEO C. *The fighting Newfoundlanders!* (Empire digest, I (8), May, 1944, 29-32). The deeds of Newfoundlanders in the present struggle are described.

YOUNG, EWART. *The Gibraltar of North America* (Empire digest, I (8), May, 1944, 6-8).

— *Newfoundland's new regiment* (Empire digest, I (8), May, 1944, 23-4). This issue of the digest is devoted to Newfoundland as its main theme.

VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

BEATTIE, J. R. *Some aspects of the problem of full employment* (C.J.E.P.S., X (3), Aug., 1944, 328-42). In view of the probable magnitude of the post-war employment gap, the author believes that after the war employment will have to be stimulated in all of three ways: by measures to remove barriers or provide stimulus to private capital development; public investment in projects which are useful or desirable in themselves; social security or other measures to stimulate consumption.

BEATTIE, KIM and FREEMAN, MORTON. *Wealth in wood*. (Canadian affairs pamphlet, I (13).) Ottawa: King's Printer. July 15, 1944. Pp. 20. A survey of Canada's forest resources.

BLADEN, V. W. *The Combines Investigation Commission and post-war reconstruction* (C.J.E.P.S., X (3), Aug., 1944, 343-54). Surveys the case for anti-trust laws and the adequacy of existing legislation in Canada.

BLACK, ROBSON. *Empire of the forests* (Beaver, outfit 275, June, 1944, 28-30). Points out the value of Canada's forest materials in terms of industry, employment, and foreign trade, and the need of conserving them.

Canada, the Government. *Canada's wartime measures for economic stability to keep down the cost of living*. Ottawa: The Govt. June, 1944. Pp. 23.

Canada in the markets of tomorrow: A series of lectures delivered at McGill University, Montreal, October 12, 1943-December 20, 1943. (McGill Monograph series, no. 2; the series of lectures planned and arranged by the School of Commerce, the Advertising and Sales Executive Club of Montreal, with the co-operation of the McGill Associates.) Montreal: McGill University, School of Commerce. 1944. Pp. 172. (\$2.50 cloth; \$1.75 paper)

[Canadian Chamber of Commerce.] *Kitchener-Waterloo survey: A fact-finding survey for post-war planning.* Part I. *The findings.* Part II. *The procedure.* [Montreal]: Canadian Chamber of Commerce. 1944. Pp. vi, 47; vi, 46. "In order then to design a pattern for evaluating the post-war problems of Canadian communities, we invited the Boards of Trade at Kitchener and Waterloo, Ontario, to undertake, with our help, to survey the economic facts about the past and present and the expectations of the future in their district."

KEIRSTEAD, B. S. *Canada's war against inflation* ([National Industrial] Conference Board economic record, VI (1), March 31, 1944, 14-28). A restricted survey of the anti-inflationary devices of the Canadian financial programme, as a contribution to the discussion of United States' problems.

KNOX, F. A. *Some aspects of Canada's post-war export problem* (C.J.E.P.S., X (3), Aug., 1944, 312-27). This paper sets out the essential features of recent plans for the establishment of a stabilized international monetary system, and indicates how their general acceptance might affect Canada's trading position in the years immediately following the war.

LOGAN, H. A. *Compulsory collective bargaining: A comparison* (Commerce journal, no. 4, n.s., April, 1944, 28-37). A comparison of the new Dominion Code, laid down by Order in Council, with the Wagner Act, its forerunner, and its history.

(2) Agriculture

ARCHIBALD, E. S. *Agricultural lands in the Canadian northwest* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIX (1), July, 1944, 40-51). The Canadian section of the North Pacific Planning Project has undertaken soil and topographical surveys of Canada's North-west, to determine the extent of agricultural land, and the sections most suitable to settlement and development.

(3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

CHOUINARD, LAURENT. *Vaillants pionniers* (Revue d'Oka, XVIII, 1944, 20-32). Describes the difficult beginnings of Saint-Epiphany de Rivière-du-Loup, mainly an agricultural parish.

COATS, R. H. *Population relations between Canada and the United States* (Proceedings of the Royal Canadian Institute, VIII, 1942-3, 46-8).

HONIGMANN, JOHN J. *Canada's human resources* (Canadian forum, XXIV, July, 1944, 84). Canada, as a democratic society, should assume the responsibility of seeing that the culture of her Indian population of 118,000 does not die.

McGOWAN, J. S. *Post-war immigration* (C.S.T.A. review, no. 41, June, 1944, 12-20). An address before the Rotary Club, Ottawa, January 10, 1944, by the Director, Department of Colonization and Agriculture, Canadian National Railways.

SABOURIN, J.-Ad. *Nos Mennonites* (Le Séminaire, IX (2), juin, 1944, 75-86). Outlines the history and the religion of the Mennonites, which have led to the evolution of a definite "type" among the 100,000 Mennonites here in Canada.

SANDWELL, B. K. *Canada should welcome all who will upbuild* (Canadian home journal, June, 1944, 56, 61). Some remarks on the immigration question.

YOUNGE, EVA R. *Population movements and the assimilation of alien groups in Canada* (C.J.E.P.S., X (3), Aug., 1944, 372-80). Discusses some of the problems which confront immigrants who strive to become adjusted to a new environment in Canada's largest cities.

(4) Geography

DEACON, NADINE A. H. *Geographical factors and land use in Toronto* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIX (2), Aug., 1944, 80-99). A survey of topographic and historic controls governing land use and expansion in the city; excellent illustrations and figures are used to give emphasis to the various phases of expansion.

(5) Transportation and Communication

ARMSTRONG, P. C. *Transportation in Canada* (Commerce journal, no. 4, n.s., April, 1944, 73-7). The decade before the war showed steady technical progress in transportation facilities, although the volume of transportation shrank greatly; the war has produced no major change except to provide a temporary volume of business sufficient to keep all transportation facilities fully employed.

ELLIS, FRANK H. *William Wallace Gibson: A Canadian pioneer of the air* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VIII (2), April, 1944, 93-105). Describes the experimental work in aeroplane designing carried on by Mr. Gibson up to about 1911.

FRASER, BLAIR. *Static on the C.B.C.* (Maclean's magazine, LVII (11), June 1, 1944, 16, 54-9). A survey of the achievements of the C.B.C., and the obstacles in management and organization which hinder further accomplishments.

MASEFIELD, PETER. *The future of air transport* (Atlantic monthly, Jan., 1944, 37-41). "America and the British Commonwealth see their future in the air proclaimed in many tongues."

VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

British Columbia, Superintendent of Education. *Seventy-second annual report of the public schools, 1942-3*. Victoria: King's Printer. 1944. Pp. 245.

COLLARD, E. A. *Sir William Dawson* (Journal of education of Nova Scotia, XV, 1944, 54-9). An article on the first Superintendent of Education in Nova Scotia and principal of McGill University for almost forty years.

Educational reform in Canada and England. I. A program for Canada by A. S. MOWAT. II. *Transforming English education* by H. C. DENT (Public affairs, VII (1), autumn, 1943, 18-25).

GODBOUT, ARCHANGE. *Enquête sur l'enseignement de l'histoire au Canada français* (Culture, V (2), juin, 1944, 156-68). In view of recent assertions that the teaching of history in French Canada did not serve the cause of national unity, a questionnaire concerning history teaching methods and aims was sent to fifty representative colleges and schools; the questions asked and the answers received are here given.

HOOPER, A. G. *Secondary education in Ontario* (Culture, V (2), juin, 1944, 149-55). A survey of the various types of secondary schools, recent trends of development, and the problems to be faced.

LEBEL, MAURICE. *Latin and Greek in secondary schools in Quebec* (Culture, V(1), mars, 1944, 40-7). An explanation of the methods and purposes pursued in the teaching of the Classics in French Canada.

LORTIE, LÉON. *Problème de l'enseignement québécois* (Culture, IV(4), déc., 1943, 524-31). Believes that education in Quebec has not kept step with the development of Canada or of the province of Quebec, and that it will have to widen its horizons if present and future problems are to be solved.

MACLELLAN, MALCOLM. *Education and the social sciences* (Culture, V(1), mars, 1944, 11-20). "Never before was the challenge to social education so critical. It is time to take up the gauntlet and get down to a realistic program of action for all the people."

SAGE, WALTER N. *Graduate training in arts in Canadian universities, with special reference to requirements for the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees*. Ottawa: Canadian Social Science Research Council. Jan., 1944. Pp. 40.

SIMARD, GEORGES. *Une doctrine d'éducation nationale* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XIV(2), avril-juin, 1944, 139-52). Continues the thesis from the two previous instalments which appeared in the *Revue* in two issues of 1943.

— *Le Fondateur de l'Université d'Ottawa* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXVII, sec. 1, mai, 1943, 117-21). Father Tabaret from 1850 to 1886 devoted his efforts to the development of the University along the lines which he envisaged, bilingual, classical, literary, scientific.

SMITH, SIDNEY E. *The hub of the university—the arts course* (Manitoba arts review, III(5), spring, 1944, 33-41). To restore the liberal arts course to its necessary and proper place in the university and in the esteem of students and public alike, the University of Manitoba has worked out a plan to give compulsory courses in "Western Civilization" to all years of the arts course in the post-war years.

VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

Les Congrégations de femmes au Canada (B.R.H., L(2), fév., 1944, 33-50). Most of the sisterhoods founded or established in Canada came from old France. Brief notes are here given about over a hundred orders, their dates of foundation, and their founders.

DAVIS, W. L. *Peter John De Smet: The journey of 1840* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXV(1), Jan., 1944, 29-43). The journey of 1840, "to visit and evangelize the various tribes of aborigines living beyond the Rocky Mountains" is described. Previous articles in this series by Father Davis appeared in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXII, April, 1941, 167-96, and XXXIII, April, 1942, 123-52.

GREENE, DAVID L. *By the swift waters*. London: Colonial and Continental Church Society [6, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C. 4]. 1943. Pp. 31. This excellent account of first-hand experience in pioneer pastoral work in Saskatchewan thirty years ago first appeared in the *Canadian Churchman*. The author was educated at Emmanuel College, Saskatoon, and is at present rector of the Anglican church at Emerson, Manitoba.

MORISSEAU, HENRI. *Le père Arthur-Paquette, oblat de Marie Immaculée, 1880-1936; à l'assaut de la vie*. Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1943. Pp. 213. (\$1.10)

(ed.). *Le centenaire de l'arrivée des Oblats à Bytown (Ottawa), 1844-1944* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XIV(1-3), janv.-mars, 1944, 28-57; avril-juin, 174-202; juillet-sept., 327-55). In December, 1941, the Oblats inaugurated the second century of their work in Canada; in 1944 they celebrate the centenary of the beginning of their work in Ottawa.

MORISSET, GÉRARD. *Les Églises et le trésor de Varennes*. (Collection Champlain.) Québec: Charrier et Dugal. 1943. Pp. 39. (60c.)

Les Ordres religieux au Canada (B.R.H., L(1), janv., 1944, 3-12). Brief notes on religious orders in Canada, their date of foundation here, and their founders.

RONDEAU, CLOVIS. *Mère Marie-du-Saint-Esprit et les deux premières fondations canadiennes missionnaires*. (Bull. no. 294.) Montréal: L'œuvre des Tracts. Dec., 1943. Pp. 16. (10c.)

SAINTE-ANNE-DE-LA-PÉRADE, HILAIRE DE. *Les Capucins au Canada*. Montréal: Monastère de la Reparation. 1941. Pp. 77.

Sous le Signe de la Charité: Centenaire de l'Institut des Sœurs de Charité de la Providence, 1843-1943. Montréal: Providence Maison Mère, 2311 Ste-Catherine est. 1943. Pp. 250. Published also in English, *With Charity for Ensign: Centenary of the Institute of the Sisters of Charity of Providence, 1843-1943.*

TREMBLAY, VICTOR. *Les Oblats du Saguenay.* (Publications de la Société Historique du Saguenay, no. 9.) Chicoutimi: The Society. 1944. Pp. 22. A small history of the work of the Oblats in the Saguenay country; 1944 marks the centenary of their arrival in the district.

L'Union Missionnaire du Clergé, Ame de la Coopération Missionnaire. *Actes du premier congrès national de l'union missionnaire du clergé au Canada (secteur de langue française).* Québec: Conseil National de l'Union Missionnaire du Clergé. 1943. Pp. 209. The proceedings and reports of the congress held in Montreal, September 22-24, 1942, during the tercentenary celebrations of Montreal.

IX. GENEALOGY

DEROME, GASTON. *Les Veuves des patriotes Sanguinet* (B.R.H., L(2), fév., 1944, 55-7). Genealogical notes on the widows of Charles and Ambroise Sanguinet, executed in January, 1839.

D'où viennent les Lefebvre dit Boulanger? (B.R.H., L(2), fév., 1944, 51-2). It is pointed out that Claude Lefebvre, founder of the Canadian family Lefebvre "dit Boulanger," came from Vigny, in the archdiocese of Rouen, in Normandy, and not from the commune of Duvigny, near Pontoise, in the bishopric of Rouen.

FABRE-SURVEYER, E. *Pierre Berthelet and his family* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, XXXVII, sec. 2, May, 1943, 57-76). Presents the results of some intense genealogical research upon the Berthelet family, in both Canada and the United States.

MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Les Ancêtres de la famille Brodeur* (B.R.H., L(1), janv., 1944, 15-16). The family of the late Honourable Louis-Philippe Brodeur, former minister, judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, and lieutenant-governor of the province of Quebec, is descended from a distinguished group of ancestors.

La famille Heney (B.R.H., XLIX(12), déc., 1943, 361-3). Light is thrown on a genealogical puzzle by the author, who points out that there were three Hugues Heney in the Heney family, and gives the genealogical details of each.

La Famille Montanary. (Série généalogique, Fascicule no. 3.) Montréal. 1944. Pp. 7. The Montanary family in Canada is descended from Paul Montanary, who came with the de Meuron regiment in 1813, and settled in Montreal when the regiment was disbanded; the author speculates whether there were any family links between this family and that of Antonio Montanari, also of Montreal.

ROY, LÉON. *Martin Grouvel* (B.R.H., L(1), janv., 1944, 31-2). Some further information about Martin Grouvel, which enlarges on a statement about him in the December, 1943, issue of the B.R.H., p. 365 (see below).

Quelques vieilles familles (B.R.H., XLIX(12), déc., 1943, 365-76). The Archivist of the province of Quebec gives genealogical details about a number of French-Canadian families.

(ed.). *Première enquête du "Coroner"* (B.R.H., L(2), fév., 1944, 53-5). The account of the coroner's inquest into the drowning of the Sieur de la Porte in 1639, is the first one of its kind to be found.

R[oy], P.-G. *Les quatre Sœurs Charly* (B.R.H., L(2), fév., 1944, 58-9). Notes on four daughters of M. and Madame André Charly, who all entered the same sisterhood, la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

ROY, RÉGIS. *La Noblesse au Canada avant 1760* (B.R.H., L(1), janv., 1944, 16-19). An inquiry into available information on the subject of the numbers of the nobility living in Canada before the Conquest.

SYLVESTRE, FRANÇOIS-A. *Généalogie de Ferdinand Gagnon*. Seattle, Washington: Chez l'auteur. 1943. Pp. 50 (mimeo.). This little volume offers the first part of the genealogy of an eminent Franco-American journalist.

X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

THOMSON, INGA and DAFOE, MARCELLA. *Bibliography of J. W. Dafoe, 1866-1944* (C.J.E.P.S., X(2), May, 1944, 213-15). This bibliography, while making no claim to completeness, has brought together much obscure data about Mr. Dafoe's writings, in addition to a list of his better known writings.

XI. ART AND LITERATURE

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Louis Jobin, statuaire (1845-1928)* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXVII, sec. 1, mai, 1943, 17-23). This Quebec artist was one of the most prolific and one of the most remarkable sculptors Quebec has produced.

BON, ANTOINE. *Alfred Pellán* (Amérique française, 3e année, no. 19, fév., 1944, 35-48). An article on the young Canadian painter, Alfred Pellán, reprinted from the Brazilian periodical, *Revista Franco Brasileira*, August, 1943.

BRUCHESI, JEAN. *A la Recherche des nos œuvres d'art* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXVII, sec. 1, mai, 1943, 25-33). In 1937 a commission of specialists was appointed to undertake an inventory of the works of art of the province of Quebec, under the direction of M. Gérard Morisset; their discoveries and the classifications they have made, have shed new light on the artistic past of French Canada.

BUCHANAN, DONALD. *Canadian movies promote citizenship* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVIII(3), March, 1944, 120-9). The work of the National Film Board and the seventy travelling theatres across Canada.

DAVIES, ROBERTSON. *A harp that once* (Queen's quarterly, L(4), winter, 1943-4, 374-81). Notes on an almost forgotten Canadian poet of Confederation times, J. R. Ramsay. "He was a very minor poet, one of those unhappy beings who mistake a merry-go-round horse for Pegasus and ride furiously in circles until they achieve a dizziness which suffices them for poetic ecstasy."

FALCAO, LUIZ ANNIBAL. *Poesia canadense* (Revista franco brasileira, X (no. 111), 1943, 6-7). Reflections on Canadian poetry.

HÉBERT, MAURICE. *Hector de Saint-Denys Garneau* (Le Canada français, XXXI(6), fév., 1944, 401-9). The recent death of the poet has deprived French Canada of one of its most expressive voices.

HOME, RUTH M. *Pottery in Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XXVIII(2), Feb., 1944, 64-77). A study of the increased interest in handicraft pottery in Canada, the leading exponents of the art, and the possible place it may make for itself in Canadian social life.

MAILLARD, CHARLES. *Vers un art canadien: Lettre aux anciens à l'occasion du 20 anniversaire de fondation de l'École des Beaux Arts de Montréal*. Montréal: École des Beaux Arts. 1943. Pp. 15.

MARION, SÉRAPHIN. *L'Année 1855, fait-elle date dans nos annales littéraires?* (Le Canada français, XXXI(7, 8), mars, 1944, 491-504; avril, 1944, 588-604). Did the year 1855, when Napoleon III sent the corvette *La Capricieuse* to the St. Lawrence to encourage friendly ties between French Canada and Old France, mark a turning point in Canadian letters? The author's extensive research into old newspaper files, booksellers' catalogues, etc., shows that the writings of the famous French classicists and romanticists had long preceded the visit of the *Capricieuse*, and that their influence had already permeated French-Canadian literary thought.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE PRESERVATION OF HISTORICAL MATERIALS IN CANADA

"The Problem of Public and Historical Records in Canada" was the subject of one of the sessions of the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association held in June in Montreal. It had been arranged to have a report with regard to the Dominion Archives in Ottawa and also one from each of the provinces. The result was a survey of the situation throughout the Dominion, which is reported at length in the Association's *Report* for 1944 which has just been published. Some of the highlights of this survey are as follows:

The Dominion Archives has an excellent collection of public records and of other materials for the period antedating 1867, but nothing systematic for the entire Confederation period, and there is at present no policy for the preservation of official records which are piling up at an unprecedented rate. In these circumstances irreparable losses are inevitable.

British Columbia has had an Archives since 1908, and has an excellent collection closely interrelated with the Provincial Library. There is, however, no policy for transferring non-current files, although there is a precaution against unconsidered destruction of such material.

Alberta has a Legislative Library but no Archives and no policy for the preservation of its public records. A committee under the chairmanship of President Newton of the University of Alberta has been appointed to report on the question, and it is hoped some action will result.

Saskatchewan has recently established an Archives and instituted a policy which is designed to preserve the public records of the province. This policy, if consistently carried out, should produce excellent results.

Manitoba has had no archives or public record policy, but recently the matter has come under the favourable consideration of the government and there is prospect of effective action in the near future.

Ontario has a large collection in its Archives, which is open to students, and a well-drawn Act for the preservation of its public records. This Act, however, has been almost completely ineffective for a number of years. It is possible that some improvement may be made in this unfortunate situation.

Quebec has had a very active Archives Department for many years, which is well housed, has a very large collection of historical materials, and has published very extensively. There is, however, no public records policy in the full sense of the term.

New Brunswick has had no Archives or public record office, and the records of the province have suffered seriously from neglect. The Museum established some years ago at Saint John has done much to stimulate interest in historical materials and it is to be hoped that something may also be done for the public records of the province.

Nova Scotia has had an active Public Archives since 1929, well staffed, generously supported by the government, and housed in an excellent building.

Prince Edward Island has preserved some historical materials in the Provincial Building but there is no policy or department of public records.

The situation as briefly outlined above has a few signs of encouragement, but on the whole it shows a distressing failure to appreciate the importance of

historical materials and in particular public records both Dominion and provincial. In saying this we do not forget the efforts made by officials and other interested people who have attempted to improve matters in recent years. We believe, however, that now is the time to renew and strengthen these efforts. Governments are faced by the problem of accumulated public records which have increased enormously and the events of recent years have sharply emphasized the need of encouraging throughout the country a broader understanding and appreciation of Canadian history. The neglect by governments of their records and the failure to collect and preserve historical materials of all kinds is a matter of serious concern not merely to historians, but to governments themselves and to the public at large. It is most desirable that consideration of this problem be included in the making of post-war plans, since no improvement can be expected in the near future if the situation is neglected at this time.

HISTORY AND HISTORICAL RECORDS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK

The following statement with regard to the organization of historical activities in the state of New York has been written at the request of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW by Dr. Albert B. Corey, who has been recently appointed State Historian of New York. In view of a reviving interest in various parts of Canada in provincial and local history, it was felt that this statement might be helpful and suggestive, and we appreciate Dr. Corey's co-operation in preparing it.

"The preservation of public records in New York State is in charge of the Division of Archives and History. This division, together with the State Library and the State Museum, are housed in the Education Building in Albany and form a part of the State Department of Education. The State Historian is Director of the Division of Archives and History.

"The public records and archives programme is intimately associated with the work of the 1,600 officially appointed local historians in the state. According to Section 1,198 of the Education Law, each county, city, township, and village is expected to have an historian duly appointed by the appropriate local authority. These persons may receive compensation in the form of salary or expenses or both. Actually few but county and city historians receive any compensation, and in all cases the amounts are comparatively small. A few counties and cities are now providing reasonably adequate budgets for their historians. Legislation concerning provision for safes, vaults, or other fireproof structures for these local historians is permissive and not mandatory. Local authorities are empowered to raise through taxation funds for erecting historical edifices, markers and monuments, for collecting war mementos, and alone or in collaboration with patriotic or historical associations for the preparation and publication of local histories and records and printing other historical materials to aid the work of the local historians.

"The duties of the local historians are varied, and, in some instances, not wholly appropriate, in so far as they require more highly skilled personnel to carry them out. Local historians are expected, in co-operation with the State Historian, to collect and preserve materials relating to the political subdivisions they serve, and to file these materials in fireproof safes or vaults. They are

also expected to see that the records of public offices are satisfactorily filed and preserved in fireproof public depositories. This is obviously an impossibility because many of the local historians are not sufficiently well trained. Consequently this obligation falls upon the Supervisor of Public Records, who is a member of the staff of the Division of Archives and History. Local historians are required to make annual reports to local appointing officers and to the State Historian's office. County historians are required to supervise the work of town and village historians and are encouraged to take responsibility for securing their appointment. The State Historian is required to supervise the work of all local historians through correspondence and personal visits.

"The problem of preserving the public records of local authorities is an acute one. Counties and cities, on the whole, are reasonably proficient. In towns and villages, conditions vary so radically that the best that can be said is that much remains to be done. Most towns and villages do not provide adequate or fireproof depositories for their local officers. Many a town clerk or village clerk houses his current records in his own home and relegates non-current records to the attic, the cellar, or the barn. When these offices change hands the non-current records are not infrequently misplaced or otherwise improperly cared for. An effort is therefore being made to enlist the assistance of all local historians in preserving these records. A plan, still on paper, is being projected whereby county historians will be asked to arrange for the transfer of non-current records from towns, villages, and cities (where necessary) to the county depository (generally the court house). If there is an overflow of these records, and it is presumed there will be, it is proposed to establish ten regional depositories. These depositories will be in strategically located cities which can most adequately serve the entire area, and should be financed partly by state funds. The object of the proposal is to make available in each locality and each larger area the records which need to be used there.

"The preservation of the public records of New York City are already provided for in that city. A special depository has been acquired for the housing of non-current records and transfers are now being made. In Albany there is to be erected after the war, an archives building, immediately behind the Education Building where the State Library is housed. The archives building is to house the non-current records of the various departments of the New York State government in Albany. This entire programme is designed to decentralize the collection of public records in the state and to make them available where they are most needed. In Albany there need be only a master list of the records preserved in each of the depositories.

"Securing the appointment of local historians and establishing public records depositories does not take into account the need of training local historians. To accomplish this end, four projects are under way. In a circular letter recently sent to all local historians it was requested that they send to the State Historian varied kinds of information. This would provide the source material for occasional bulletins which it is proposed to send out at intervals to the local historians. The county and city historians are being encouraged to form an association of their own, to meet once a year when the New York State Historical Association meets, and to plan their own programmes. It is hoped to begin what may be called an internship programme which would make it possible for groups limited in size to spend a couple of weeks in Albany where

they could receive instruction in archival procedure, in library methods, and in museum techniques. When the Institute of Public Service Training is established in Albany after the war it is hoped that a programme of training can be set up, again through the collaboration of the State Librarian, the Director of the State Museum, and the State Historian.

"The work which local historians are being encouraged to undertake is twofold in character. Immediate emphasis is being placed upon war records, which for convenience are divided into three types. First are the war service records. A uniform war service record form is now being drawn up with the assistance of the county and city historians. The object is to have as complete a record as possible of every man and woman in the armed services, these to be collected by the town, village, and city historians. Copies are to be deposited with county historians. Second are the records of official war agencies. These agencies have recently been instructed to appoint local historians as recording officers. Upon the termination of the work of these agencies their records will be turned over to the local historians themselves. Third are the multitude of war activities of which records should be kept. Local historians are being encouraged to do as much as they can, and are given a guide in the *War Records Handbook* published in August, 1943, by the Division of Archives and History.

"Emphasis is also being placed upon the preservation of non-World War records. First are the public records of the various political subdivisions of the state to which sufficient allusion has already been made. Second are the many other types of records which can be collected or copied,—church registers, names in graveyards, correspondence, newspapers, artifacts, and the like. All go to make up the warp and woof of history.

"The programme as outlined above is designed to encourage the local communities to preserve the records of their own history. It remains for the State Historian's office and the Division of Archives and History to be a public depository for state government records and to act as a clearing-house for information, assistance, and advice."

THE JOHN W. DAFOE MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

In memory of the late John W. Dafeo, a Foundation has been established whose object, broadly speaking, "will be to encourage by every possible means the study and understanding of international affairs, and especially the role which Canada should play in them." Nothing could be more appropriate either to the needs of Canada or to the memory of Mr. Dafeo, whose "two enduring passions" were for the cause of education in all its forms, and the furtherance of effective means of international co-operation. It is to be hoped that the appeal for contributions which the Organizing Committee is making will meet with the widespread response which it deserves. The tentative objective has been set at \$200,000, and the Committee desires that support be given not only by larger contributors, but by a great many whose contributions must necessarily be small. Certainly this would be fitting both to the purposes of the Foundation and as a memorial to Mr. Dafeo whose democratic instincts were so genuine a part of his thought and action. The joint chairmen of the Committee are Chief Justice E. A. McPherson and Mr. Edgar J. Tarr of Winnipeg, and the funds

are being placed in trust with the University of Manitoba. Donations may be addressed to the Foundation at 1,008 Electric Railway Chambers, Winnipeg.

While the policy and work of the Foundation will grow with the years, plans for some activities have already been outlined. "Among them, it is hoped, will be the delivery at somewhat regular intervals in Winnipeg, or in some other Canadian city, of the John W. Dafoe Memorial Lectures. The Foundation will attempt to bring to Canada on these occasions men and women of outstanding quality whose speeches or lectures will be of such merit as to warrant subsequent publication. In addition to these activities, it is hoped also to sponsor the assembly of informed groups for purposes of discussion and for the advance of projects in the field of international co-operation. It is hoped, too, to provide travelling fellowships for the advance of research in the same field, to grant memorial prizes possibly in both schools and colleges, and to assist financially any organizations which the Foundation would recognize as ones which Mr. Dafoe would himself have tried to help."

THE CORNELL UNIVERSITY COLLECTION OF REGIONAL HISTORY

The first report of this Collection, prepared by the curator Mr. Whitney R. Cross, has recently come to hand, and is of interest as indicating the kind of thing which should be done at many regional centres in Canada as well as in the United States. The report says in part: "On October 1, 1942, Cornell University established the Collection of Regional History to gather, house and preserve manuscripts from upstate New York and adjacent areas. One year has sufficed to bring together source materials of promising quality and quantity, as well as to create a system for filing, classifying and preserving acquisitions. The year has also demonstrated that the barns, attics and desks of upstate families contain a wealth of data potentially valuable for students of history, folklore, agriculture, economics, education, religion and other subjects."

Among the materials listed in the report are manuscript collections and files of newspapers. A list of "Desirable Records" is also given, including: land and estate papers, deeds, abstracts, wills; transportation records for canals, railroads, turnpikes, stage coaches, steamboats and river barges; association records, churches, religious societies, educational and social organizations; education records, public and private schools, defunct academies, colleges; accounts, personal, business, household, farm; letters and diaries of or relating to New York people, or to migration into or from the state; almanacs, sheet music of early date, manuscript music, legends of Indian captivities, patent medicine advertisements and other curios, illustrated posters, etc.

The Tyrrell Medal of the Royal Society of Canada for distinctive writing in Canadian history was awarded this year at the Society's annual meeting to Professor H. A. Innis, head of the Department of Political Economy in the University of Toronto.

THE KLIEFORTH CANADIAN-AMERICAN HISTORY PRIZE

A prize of \$2,000 in United States funds, to be known as the Klieforth Canadian-American History Prize, is offered for the best manuscript for a book

to be entitled: "North American History: A Common History of the United States and Canada," suitable for use by students in Grade XI of the United States and Canada. The aim of the work is to give a clearer picture of North American ways of life, and to promote a better understanding between the peoples of the United States and Canada. The manuscript should not be longer than 175,000 words, and is to be submitted under a pseudonym only, to the chairman of the panel of judges, Professor A. L. Burt, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota, U.S.A., on or before July 1, 1946. At the same time, each competitor should write to the American Consul General in Winnipeg, Manitoba, giving the name of the pseudonym under which he, or she, has submitted a manuscript. All inquiries should be addressed to the chairman of the panel of judges.

CANADIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL BOOK BURSARIES

The Canadian Social Science Research Council has recently decided to offer to instructors in the social sciences in Canada a number of "book bursaries" designed to aid junior members of the profession, or any who have not access to adequate library facilities, in securing books directly helpful to them in their teaching or in the prosecution of research. These bursaries are awarded with the purpose of stimulating broad scholarship and sound research in the social sciences in Canada, and are limited to a maximum of one hundred dollars. Further information and application forms may be obtained from the Secretary of the Council, Dr. J. E. Robbins, 166 Marlborough Ave., Ottawa.

THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In spite of the war, the Royal Historical Society has been able to carry on its usual activities during the session, 1943-4, and the issue of its *Transactions* has been uninterrupted. Delay has inevitably occurred in the issue of the volume in the *Camden Series*, but two of these are now in the press. Also in the press, is the edition in facsimile of *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury*. The preparation of the volume of *Writings on British History*, the Society's annual bibliography, is being continued, although its publication has been postponed until after the war.

At the request of the Society, we are pleased to print the following information with regard to two Essay Prizes offered by the Society.

The David Berry Essay. A competition will be held in the year 1946 for a Gold Medal and Money Prize of £50 (or in an exceptional case of more than £50) which will be awarded to the writer of the best essay on a subject, to be selected by the candidate, dealing with Scottish History within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive. The successful essay must be a genuine work of research based on original materials and must be in the hands of the Society not later than October 31, 1946. The award was given in 1943 to the Rev. Professor A. F. Scott Pearson for his essay on "Anglo-Scottish Religious Relations, 1400-1600."

The Alexander Prize of a silver medal is offered annually for an essay on an historical subject selected by the candidate but approved by the Literary

Directors of the Society. The essay must not exceed 6,000 words in length and must be received on or before February 28, 1945.

Further information may be obtained from the Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W. 10, England.

Rutgers University has announced the creation of a Research Council to promote research in all departments of the university. A survey is now being made of personnel and facilities to determine where new funds for research can best be invested. Studies in history and related fields will be encouraged, including those which may be related to any aspect of the war and of post-war developments. Dr. George P. Schmidt, Professor of History in the New Jersey College for Women, will represent history and the social sciences on the Council. A special research fund has been placed at the disposal of the Council and applications for grants for next year are now being considered.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREAT LAKES HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Sponsored by the Cleveland Public Library, of which Clarence S. Metcalf is chief librarian, the Great Lakes Historical Society has been organized and will begin publication of a quarterly bulletin devoted to the history of the lakes and the commerce thereof. The new society is receiving the active support of a number of the large lake transportation companies. One of the early projects of the new organization will be to make a survey of material in libraries and elsewhere relating to the history of the Great Lakes. The findings of this survey will be published in the bulletin. Miss Donna L. Root of the staff of the Cleveland Public Library is secretary of the society.

We regret that lack of space necessitates our holding over a number of items which we had intended printing in the Notes and Comments section of this issue.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

For some years, owing to war-time and other discouragements, the work of provincial and local historical societies in Canada has been at a somewhat low ebb. There are signs, however, of reviving activity, and of an increasing appreciation of the importance of preserving historical records and materials of all kinds. We have included above, notes giving a suggestion with regard to the condition of public records in each of the provinces, and also a description of local historical activities in the State of New York where an active policy has been pursued for a number of years.

The American Association for State and Local History has this year published a second edition of its *Handbook of Historical Societies in the United States and Canada*. An even hundred Canadian societies are listed as compared with thirty-eight in the 1936 edition, and while doubtless these are not all as active as they might be, the list is an impressive one. The Association has also published a number of booklets, which we have noted as they appeared, with suggestions as to the work of societies.

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW published in its December issue of 1931 a list of Canadian historical societies, and began in March, 1932, the publishing of notes on the activities of the individual societies. This record, while not complete has, we believe, had a cumulative value. Since that time the publishing of such information has also been begun by the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, by *Culture* with regard to French-Canadian societies, and by *Western Ontario Historical Notes* which is issued by the Lawson Memorial Library of the University of Western Ontario. The Ontario Historical Society has also begun to publish a *News Letter*, the first issue of which is dated July, 1944.

The REVIEW welcomes items from societies at any time. Requests for information are sent out periodically, but if societies are missed, we trust it will be drawn to our attention. We regret that we have had to hold over until our next issue the information received in answer to our latest inquiry. We have letters in hand from the following societies: The Brant Historical Society; The British Columbia Historical Association, Victoria Branch; The Canadian Railroad Historical Association; The Champlain Society; Les Dix; The Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society, recently organized at Hamilton, Ontario; The Historical Society of Argenteuil County; The Miramichi Historical Society; The Norfolk Historical Society; La Société Historique de Saint-Boniface; La Société Historique de Joliette; La Société Historique de Nouvel-Ontario; La Société d'Histoire Régionale de Québec; La Société d'Histoire Régionale de Rimouski; La Société Historique du Saguenay; The Society for Nautical Research; The United Empire Loyalists' Association, Vancouver Branch; The Upper Canada Railway Society; The Waterloo Historical Society, which has just published its thirty-first annual report; The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto; The York Pioneer and Historical Society.

